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ABSTRACT

The problems involved in the re-entry of women into employment were studied, and the extent to which there exists a demand for employment for re-entry women was examined. A growing number of women are seeking re-entry in a wide range of income levels. The demand for part-time work appears to exceed supply. Official machinery for assisting re-entry women exists, at least nominally, in all the countries studied. It has to be decided, however, whether special machinery needs to be created to deal with the particular problems of this group and whether such machinery should take the form of a Women's Bureau. In the United States, the Women's Bureau is getting results. Many women have been handicapped in their careers through lack of vocational guidance. Where there are good openings, many are prevented from taking advantage of them through lack of basic educational qualifications. Success achieved in training older women is being achieved. This study has shown that re-entry programs for older women can be a satisfactory investment for both the community and the woman herself. The nature of the women's labor market will in any case change over the next decade as a result of the combined effects of technology and of the introduction of equal pay. (Author/CK)

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**re-entry
of women to
the labour market
after
an interruption
in employment**

by

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**ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC
CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), was set up under a Convention signed in Paris on 14th December, 1960, which provides that the OECD shall promote policies designed :

- to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy ;*
- to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development ;*
- to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.*

The Members of OECD are Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

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PREFACE

The enquiry on which this report is based was initiated by OECD in 1968. The aim was to make a preliminary investigation into the main factors affecting women's re-entry into employment and, in particular, to explore:

- a) the need for women to return to employment, both to meet the manpower requirements of their countries and to satisfy the desire of many older women to obtain paid work;
- b) the steps being taken to enable women to return, including the provision of information and advice, the availability of training and retraining schemes, the financial and other assistance for trainees and the facilities for obtaining employment with or without training;
- c) the way in which training schemes have been adapted and devised to meet the special requirements of the older woman with regard to hours of work, course content, and teaching methods;
- d) the effectiveness of the measures taken in terms of the economic contribution of the women once employed and the satisfaction of the women themselves.

The OECD countries which took part in the enquiry were Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

The range of topics to be considered, the number of countries involved and the resources available largely determined the nature and methods of the enquiry. In response to a letter sent by the OECD to all participating countries, the appropriate ministries provided facts and figures in the main areas of the study. The investigator subsequently visited each country in turn to discuss the data provided and to collect additional information. Contact was also made with training establishments,

employers, trade unions and research organisations with interests in this field.

It is obvious that in view of the width of the subject, the diversity of the problems arising in different countries and the limitations of time and other resources, the study was inevitably impressionistic and incomplete. Moreover, many changes in this field are of recent date and the facts and figures needed to justify firm conclusions in many instances did not and do not exist.

Despite these reservations it has nonetheless been possible to record a number of interesting experiments, to identify problems common to many countries, to suggest useful future studies and to raise policy issues on which decisions are needed.

The chapter on the Costs and Benefits was prepared in consultation with Dr. E.J. Mishan, Reader in Economics, London School of Economics.

The views expressed throughout are those of the author, and do not in any way bind the authorities of the countries concerned.

I

THE MEANING AND RELEVANCE OF THE RE-ENTRY OF WOMEN INTO EMPLOYMENT

For centuries many women, young and old, single and married, have taken part in their countries' economic life. In medieval and early modern times, their work was carried out primarily in their own homes or on nearby farms.* With industrialisation, however, many women's jobs were shifted into factories and taken over by men, while the scope for economic activity shrank for the women who stayed at home.

Though the range of work available for women became more limited, the need to earn money to supplement family incomes continued to drive many women to take whatever employment they could find, fitting it in as best they could with the domestic responsibilities which dominated their lives.

The employment of older women is not, therefore, new. Yet it is not perhaps realized how substantial is the economic contribution of the older woman, and how important an element work is in women's lives. As Table 1 shows, in Denmark, France, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, over 40% of women in the age groups 15 to 64 are economically active, and well over 30% in Canada, United States and Sweden.

Important as this problem has always been, there are special features in the present and future situation of working women that make the subject of their re-entry into employment a matter of particular and widespread interest today.

The relevant factors are both social and economic.

* E. Sullerot, *Histoire et Sociologie du Travail Féminin*, Editions Gonthier, 1968.

Table 1. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL FEMALE POPULATION
IN AGE GROUPS

	UNDER 15 YEARS	15-19 YEARS	20-24 YEARS	25-29 YEARS	30-49 YEARS	50-54 YEARS	55-59 YEARS	60-64 YEARS	65 YEARS AND OLDER	TOTAL	
										% OF ALL WOMEN	% OF WOMEN 15-64
Canada (1961)		34	50	32	31	33	28	20	7	20	33
USA (1960)	0	28	45	35	42	46	41	29	10	25	39
Denmark (1960)	1	67	59	39	37	37	34	23	7	28	42
France (1962)	0	36	62	46	41	46	43	34	11	28	42
Germany (F.R.) (1961)	2	79	72	50	44	38	32	21	8	33	47
Italy (1961)	3	39	41	30	26 ¹	23 ²	17	13	5	20	28
Netherlands (1960)	1	59	53	22	16	16	14	10	3	16	26
Sweden (1960)	0	47	57	42	36	36	32	22	5	26	38
United Kingdom (1961)		72				42			5	29	45

1. 30-44 years.

2. 45-54 years.

Quoted from I. L. O. Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1967 by Dr. Rita Krudsen in paper to OECD Trade Union Seminar, November 1968.

It is assumed that in the future, as in the past, women's family responsibilities will continue to influence their work roles. Their work situation can, therefore, only be understood if considered in conjunction with the requirements of family life. It is because important changes are taking place, both in family life and at work, that the position of the older woman seeking employment requires special study at the present time.

In Western countries, the average size of family varies but despite differences between countries and fluctuations in the birth rate within countries, the size of family nowhere shows signs of returning to nineteenth century dimensions.

The marriage age continues to drop and, perhaps most important of all, the age at which the average woman has her last child has fallen to thirty, or below, in a number of countries. Table 2 makes clear the extent of the change in most of the countries included in this survey.

Where, as in the United Kingdom, almost all girls take paid work on leaving full-time education, the mother looking for employment is seeking to re-enter the labour-market. In some countries, however, as in the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent in France, where it is still not uncommon for unmarried girls to stay at home or to work on the family farm or in the family business, the married woman seeking employment may be entering the labour market for the first time. Her situation, which cannot strictly be included in a study of re-entry problems, presents considerable difficulties and the assistance necessary for many re-entry women will often be even more important in these cases. In Denmark and in the Netherlands, for example, as the number of small farms and family business declines, wives who have played an active part in the family concern are now looking for jobs on the open market. It is interesting that, in some cases where the family business is no longer sufficient to support the family, the husband may take paid employment, leaving the farm or shop in the care of the wife.

While the family is changing so also is the labour market. With slight variations between countries, and with interesting signs of new developments more apparent in some countries than in others, the labour market for women has been, and still is to a large extent, different from the labour market for men.* There is, of course, an overlap area, but compared with the extent of the distinct male and female labour markets it is small and relatively unimportant. In the professional field in most countries women work mainly in the traditional female professions of teaching, nursing and social work. In France, for example, in 1962, 63.7% of all teachers were women. In

* Dr. Rita Knudsen, *op. cit.*

Table 2. LIVE-BORN CHILDREN Pr. 1,000 WOMEN IN AGE-GROUPS

		15-19 YEARS	20-24 YEARS	25-29 YEARS	30-34 YEARS	35-39 YEARS	40-44 YEARS	45-49 YEARS
Canada	1930/32 1965	30 48	137 186	174 181	145 119	103 65	45 21	5 2
USA	1929/31 1965	47 71	131 197	127 162	93 95	60 46	23 13	2 1
Denmark	1931/35 1965	23 47	102 176	122 163	95 87	61 38	24 9	2 1
France	1930/32 1965	31 28	130 176	129 180	88 108	52 53	18 16	2 2
Germany (F.R.)	1965	24	126	155	100	45	13	1
Italy	1930/32 1964	23 13	125 100	175 173	155 130	116 73	52 29	6 3
Netherlands	1930/31 1965	12 21	92 140	166 207	153 138	112 73	52 24	5 2
Sweden	1933/34 1965	17 49	73 141	90 154	77 89	53 39	24 10	3 7
United Kingdom	1931 1964	12 42	77 180	112 185	94 107	61 50	24 13	. 1

United Nations' Demographic Yearbook 1966 and National Statistical Yearbooks of each country - also quoted by Dr. Knudsen, op. cit.

medicine there is considerable variation in women's penetration in different countries. In the United Kingdom 25% of registered practitioners were women, compared with 6% of all physicians in the United States. In the law and in higher levels of administration there are, in almost all countries, only a tiny minority of women.

Over the next thirty years this market for women's labour is likely to change radically. Automation and greater mechanisation, it is forecast, will lead to a reduction in the number of people employed in manufacturing industry in semi-skilled and unskilled work and to an increase in technical grades.* Table 3 shows how heavily women in the United Kingdom are concentrated in the less skilled jobs which are due for contraction and how little they have penetrated the skilled grades which are due to expand. Only minor variations on this pattern were found in the various countries studied. The likely effect on the employment

Table 3. UNITED KINGDOM, MAY 1968

	MALE	FEMALE
Managers	397,380	18,060
Scientists and technologists	92,150	2,855
Draughtsmen	104,690	1,455
Other technicians	183,240	13,750
Skilled production workers	1,290,190	68,000
Skilled maintenance workers	257,290	2,495
Other production workers	1,326,440	1,071,940
Foremen and chargehands	110,950	17,195
Warehouse packers and despatch ...	263,910	102,685
Transport drivers	143,740	965
Canteen staff	6,390	64,335
Labourers	381,900	25,185
Other employees	366,120	224,660

Extracted from Problems of Equal Pay, G.J. Mepham, Institute of Personnel Management (1969).

* The pattern of the Future, Ministry of Labour Manpower Studies No. 1, HMSO, 1964.

of women of scientific and technical development is illustrated by the changes in the Federal German Republic shown in Table 4. The reduction in the number of manual workers between 1961 and 1967 was unevenly distributed between men and women, the percentage of women employed having fallen by 10% compared with only 5% for men. In the management and white collar sector, on the other hand, there was an increase of 18% in the number of men employed compared with only 14% in the number of women. In absolute terms the increase in the numbers of women in the white collar sector exceeded the decrease in the manual workers sector, no doubt as a result of the continuing increase in the demand for clerical workers. This did not however help the displaced untrained women manual workers, particularly the older women, who normally could not be transferred to the white collar sector.

Table 4. CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS AND MANUAL WORKERS 1961-67 (FEDERAL GERMAN REPUBLIC)

	WHITE COLLAR WORKERS			MANUAL WORKERS			TOTAL EMPLOYED
	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	
1961 ..	4,531	3,262	7,793	9,350	3,769	13,119	20,912
1967 ..	5,358	3,740	9,098	8,900	3,388	12,289	21,387
	+ 827	+ 478	+1,305	- 450	- 381	- 830	+ 475

It is this absence of training and qualifications which will clearly be an increasingly serious handicap in the labour market of the future, and which is characteristic of the female labour force in all the countries studied in this survey. In France a Ministry of Labour Survey of 1961* showed that among manual workers three quarters of the women, compared with half the men, were without any qualifications at all. In the electrical engineering industry 7% of the women, compared with 50% of the men, had some qualifications. The comparable figures in the chemical industry were 10% for women and 47% for men, in the food industry 3% for women and 26% for men. In textiles, the area in which women have been long established in skilled work, the figure rose to 28% for women compared with 33% for men. In Sweden, Denmark and Federal Republic of Germany, considerable numbers of women have in

* Françoise Guélaud-Léridon, Le Travail des Femmes en France, Presses Universitaires de France.

recent years become draughtsmen. This change is, however, exceptional, and on present showing women are not favourably placed to take advantage of the new developments which are undermining important areas of the traditional women's labour market and are expanding opportunities in some areas where their penetration has been very slight indeed.

The future demand for clerical workers* is a matter of the first importance for women, and is not easy to forecast. Table 5 shows the distribution of clerical and administrative jobs in May 1968 in the United Kingdom where about 40% of all girl school leavers entered office jobs.

Table 5

	MALE	FEMALE
Clerical and office	345,220	572,670
Other administrative	274,860	56,420

The percentage of clerical workers in the total employed population has increased steadily throughout the twentieth century and the earliest studies of the effect of automation on office work have shown that initially at any rate the introduction of the computer has slowed up the rate of increase in the demand for clerical workers but has not led to an absolute reduction. In the long run, however, when the full effects of office automation have become apparent it is reasonable to expect a reduction in the demand for clerical workers. Colin Leicester**, of the Department of Applied Economics at Cambridge University, writing in 1968, forecast the following changes in the distribution of manpower between 1960 and 2000.

Table 6

	1960 %	2000 %
Professional and technical	8	20
Managerial	10	10
Clerical	12	9
Manual	70	61

* Manpower Studies No. 4, Computers in Offices, Ministry of Labour (HMSO).

** Colin Leicester, "Where", Supplement No. 17, Careers of the Future, Advisory Centre for Education Ltd., 1968.

The fall from 12% to 9% in clerical work would have a marked effect on the employment position of women. It would only be offset if women were accepted in categories of work in which they are at present rarely found. Girls leaving school today will be re-entry women in the year 2000 and if Leicester is correct an increasing number of today's girl school leavers should be diverted from clerical to technical and professional work. This can only easily be done if it can be established that opportunities already exist for them in these fields.

While these technical changes are taking place, pressure has been growing for the acceptance of Convention 100 of the ILO and Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome, both of which require the application of the principle of equal pay. This is not the place to argue the problems of interpretation associated with this claim. It is clear, however, that if this demand is met, women's position in the labour market will again be altered. In the past and immediate present the work women have done and the pay they have received have reflected the separation of the men's and women's labour market. Up to now the older woman returning to work has sought and found jobs in this limited women's market. But the disappearance of many women's jobs combined with the possible disappearance of separate standards of remuneration, could alter the situation drastically. If women are restricted to a declining number of traditional women's jobs, but are no longer cheaper than men for the employer, their bargaining position will obviously deteriorate. If, in addition, the number of women seeking employment is swollen by the pressure of older women wishing to re-enter the contracting women's labour market, then the situation becomes even more unfavourable. If, on the other hand, the traditional separate labour markets for men and women are abandoned and are replaced, albeit gradually, by a single labour market, then the opportunities for women can increase spectacularly and the latent abilities of large numbers of women will at last be appropriately employed.

The re-entry of women into employment, and its related problems and opportunities, have for a number of years aroused considerable interest. It is the combination of these relatively familiar matters with the changes taking place in the whole field of women's employment which gives an enquiry at the present time its special significance.

II

THE RE-ENTRY PROCESS: OPPORTUNITIES AND OBSTACLES

A later chapter examines the opportunities and obstacles facing women who wish to re-enter the labour market in the nine countries covered in this survey. From the experience of these countries it is plain that opportunities for re-entry women are, in the main, restricted to the traditional women's professions of teaching, nursing and social work; to work in offices and shops, in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs in manufacturing industry and in service occupations. The limitations which in all countries affect the employment of women generally irrespective of age or marital status, are made more acute by the special problems of older women who have been absent from the labour market for a number of years. Under these conditions, many women fail to obtain the level of work of which they are capable, to their own and the community's considerable impoverishment. It is, therefore, important to examine the critical factors affecting re-entry women's access to jobs and their chances of obtaining and retaining work at a level appropriate to their capacities.

1. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

A married woman feels she would like a job. But what job should she seek; how should she attempt to find it; what practical arrangements should she make to deal with her domestic responsibilities; and how should she prepare herself for this new work?

The problems which lie behind these questions vary with the circumstances of the woman concerned. At one end of the scale there is the professionally qualified woman - a medical practitioner or a nurse for example - who, while she has been at home, has managed to keep in touch with her profession through reading and personal contacts, or

has even continued to practice it on a part-time or occasional basis. She knows what she wants to do; she knows where she can be fitted in; she knows where to apply; she knows what refresher training she needs and where it is available; she knows how she and her husband and children will manage their family life. She is confident and happy in the knowledge that she can do a good job. Not least, she fully accepts that with a gap in her professional career, and the limited commitment she can now undertake, her work will be useful, well paid and rewarding, but probably not professionally in the top flight. If all this is true, she will be fortunate and she will represent a totally untypical group in the army of women seeking re-entry.

For the great mass of women in every country the position is quite different. They have had no specific training. With a gap of ten to twenty years their knowledge of the labour-market, always sketchy, is now both limited and inaccurate. Their views of jobs are highly coloured by the jobs they knew a decade ago. But while they have been at home the labour market and the jobs in it have been continuously changing. Such a woman does not quite know what she wants to do, or whom to ask. She knows she can run her home, though even that does not always pan out; but will she be able to keep to a timetable, to learn new jobs, to compete with youngsters who look like the women's glossies, to be part of a team she does not control. Her husband and children are doing rather well. She does not want to make a fool of herself, or to take a job they and the neighbours would not think much of. After all, she is a wife and mother. She is used to running her own show. What's more, she has got to go on running it. Her family does not seem to mind her working - she might prefer it if they seemed to mind a little more - but this may well not last if life for them becomes a little less comfortable, a little more uncertain. She is, as has been said, both under-confident and over-confident at the same time - under-confident in relation to her real capacity for tackling new tasks, over-confident by virtue of her status.

So vocational guidance stands out as the first major requirement of the re-entry woman. This is stressed by both public authorities and voluntary organisations in all countries seriously attempting to make a success of the re-entry programme. In the United States, for example, a wide variety of educational and voluntary bodies assisted by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour, are experimenting in this field, while in Sweden professional help is provided on a generous scale by the public authorities. From the work that has already been done, it is clear that the woman needs to be able to discuss her total problem with someone who understands the psychological, practical and vocational aspects of re-entry - to be able to give her at the same time self-confidence and a realistic appreciation of what taking a job means. This is a highly skilled and time-consuming task. Professional organisations

with long experience in vocational guidance, as for example the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in the United Kingdom, estimate that while vocational guidance for an adolescent takes approximately one and a half days of a professional adviser's time, for an adult the period can be shortened to a day or even less. The cost, even for a non-profit making organisation, has been estimated at £15.0.0. per half day.* Such a service needs to be supported by sufficient publicity to make its existence known to those whom it is intended to assist. The provision of a vocational guidance service on this scale will obviously take time to organise. It appears to be essential if frustration and waste are to be avoided.

In addition to the provision for individual guidance and counselling, the conference and courses organised particularly in Denmark and Sweden appear to be serving a very useful dual purpose. It is possible, by such means, to give a group of women information and understanding about the labour-market, and the opportunity to sort out personal problems both by discussion with experts and by exchanging ideas with other women facing comparable difficulties.

2. BASIC EDUCATION

For the great majority of the jobs at present performed by re-entry women the educational demands are so limited that the level of the women's basic education is not a problem. Where, however, a woman aims at a more skilled or responsible job, inadequate basic education can prove a serious handicap. This raises issues of great importance if re-entry is to be successful. The problem starts in the schools. If girls can be taught to look ahead to the second as well as the first phase of work their attitude to educational achievement will change. At present many girls leave school at the earliest legally permitted date, although they are fully capable of benefiting from a much more extensive period of education. They also at an early age drop such subjects as mathematics and so, in practice, limit their subsequent choice of career. To make matters worse, these decisions are frequently made in ignorance of the career consequences. The need clearly is for as wide an educational base as possible so that the woman who wants to take a specific training in her thirties has a good enough basic education on which to build.

This sound educational base is also important for the woman who hopes to keep in touch with new developments while at home looking after her young family. Learning is a habit, hard to acquire and easy

* From information supplied by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in 1969.

to lose. The better the girl's education has been the easier will she find it to keep the learning habit alive while she is at home, and the easier it will be for her to learn anew when she decides to return.

The period at home presents both problems and opportunities with which professional organisations, trade unions, and public educational authorities can help. To study at home with no defined programme or goal is, and probably always will be, possible only for the very few. Experiments to assist women at this stage of their lives are therefore of special importance. In New York, for example, training courses and examinations are available by virtue of a combined effort by New York State University and educational television. By these means women at home are helped to discover what to learn. They are given knowledge, a planned programme of study appropriate to their circumstances, and a clearly defined goal. Women taking such courses have a real chance to supplement their school education and to emerge from the period at home with the mental alertness and educational qualifications which they need to launch them on a new career.

The nature of these educational requirements raises controversial and important issues. No one would ask that the standards ultimately required of re-entry women in their chosen careers should be different from the standards normally expected, but this does not rule out greater flexibility with regard to entry requirements for training courses. It is where a student finishes up on a training course that matters, not where she begins. In a number of countries re-entry women wishing to take a particular training have first to spend months, or even years, acquiring the qualifications in academic subjects which they would have gained at school had they continued their studies. Sometimes the knowledge tested is needed to embark on the proposed course, but sometimes it is merely required as evidence of adequate ability to tackle higher studies. Formal study is not however the only way to acquire knowledge and school examinations are not the only way to demonstrate ability. A system of 'equivalents' which did not lower entry standards but accepted a wider range of evidence of the candidate's knowledge and ability, might save a considerable amount of time and encourage suitable students at present deterred by the long drawn-out preliminary process of supplementing educational qualifications.

3. THE TRAINING PROCESS

For re-entry women the training process is of prime importance. With few exceptions the absence of training and qualifications excludes them from all but the more poorly paid jobs, while the acquisition of these qualifications is seen as a formidable hurdle. The problems are

both practical and academic. When a married woman has discovered what she would like to do she needs to re-arrange her existing duties and to find the money to meet the costs which arise even when tuition is free. She also has to acquire the mental habits of a student. In a number of countries, at any rate for jobs where there are great shortages of womanpower, tuition fees are paid and grants are large enough to meet the woman's out-of-pocket expenses and to pay the cost of some assistance with domestic duties. In this way, the wife's training is not a charge on her husband and the standard of comfort of the family can be maintained without the wife adding the effort and strain of following a training programme to the full demands of running a home. In Sweden, for example, the need to buttress the re-entry woman in this way is accepted. In contrast, in Canada a distinction is made between the woman who is in employment, loses her job and takes a training course to equip herself for a new job, and the housewife who has not been in paid employment for a number of years but is seeking to re-enter the labour market. Free training is available to both categories of women, but training allowances are paid only to unemployed women already in the labour market or to the re-entry housewife who is the head of a household with one or more dependent children. Direct evidence of the effect of this distinction is not available, but there is evidence of considerable, though by no means universal, indifference - or even opposition - by husbands to their wives' re-entry to work. Where it is accepted policy to remove obstacles to re-entry this type of full financial support should probably be recognised as a decisive factor in enabling the woman to make the first difficult and important move into training. According to paragraph 44 of the Labour Promotion Law (Arbeitsförderungsgesetz), participants in full-time professional training courses which are supported by the labour administration receive a financial allowance apart from their legal right to unemployment assistance.

Financial support may make training possible. It does not make it effective. For this, three factors must be studied: the practical training arrangements, course content and teaching methods. The hours of work customary in colleges for young single people, where teaching is often organised between 9 a.m. and 6 p.m., may be very difficult indeed for a woman who has to see children off to school and to prepare a meal for the family in the evening. The scheduling of formal teaching between 9.30 a.m. and 3.30 p.m. as is done at Bromley Technical College in Great Britain, can make considerable difference to the housewife student. For some an even more appropriate pattern is the scheme adopted for teacher training at the Sidney Webb College in London where for the first three years all the necessary lectures and classes can be taken in the evenings and on a limited number of Saturdays.

A further practical point of importance is the need for flexibility in the time required to complete courses. The question of "equivalents" mentioned in relation to entry qualification needs also to be examined with regard to the studies to be pursued. It is clear that many women in their second phase of employment will not return to their previous occupation but will set out on an entirely new career. Detailed studies of the common elements in apparently quite different courses should enable a system of "equivalents" to be worked out which would permit courses to be shortened without any reduction of standards.

While for some students the time required for taking a course could and should be reduced, in other circumstances it may be necessary for it to be lengthened. A woman may be able to tackle a course normally requiring two years of full-time study if she can spread this over a three year or an even longer period. Alternatively, a woman may embark on a full-time course and find that some domestic crisis intervenes. It should be possible for her to postpone completion of the course until the situation changes, when she should then be able to resume her studies where she left off.

A further variation of training time is required for the woman who dropped out from training before marriage and then wishes to resume the same training years later. Here again, standards must be assured, but the drop out problem will inevitably arise where women students are concerned and it should not be impossible to work out appropriate systems for the resumption of studies which recognize the work already done before the drop out occurred. Such facilities do not exist everywhere at present.

One further common situation calls for a new and more flexible approach. If it is policy to encourage women to train for the level of work appropriate to their abilities, then the low level training which still satisfies many school leavers and re-entry women should be accepted as a base for further training and as a recognized contribution to higher level training. This is perhaps a special form of the problem of "equivalents", but a special form of particular importance. Wherever possible, no woman should be required to start all over again. Even the short training for "aides" widely developed in the United States might be examined to see if it could be accepted as a first step towards a higher qualification. Obviously there are great difficulties in moving women up professional ladders in this way, but from the point of view of the trainee there is a world of difference between a short training which leads only to a job with a very low ceiling, and a short training which can be seen as placing the trainee on the lowest rung of a long ladder which all may and some will climb.

These training problems and their possible solution are of great concern to the woman who has had no previous training, or who, having had a training, wishes to switch to some different type of work. The vast army of women in unskilled employment who become aware of unused capacities and neglected opportunities need training provisions of the kind described. So also do a number of women who for one reason or another decide not to return to the work for which they were originally trained. Perhaps the most severe limitation of the married woman as a worker is her relative immobility. Though there are exceptions, in the great majority of cases a family lives in a place convenient for the husband's work and the wife can only take a job to which she can travel daily from the family home. If she cannot find her pre-marital type of work within this area then she must do something else or stay at home. Even if such a job is available, she may not wish to take it up again. The choice of occupation of a girl of fifteen or even twenty-one may be totally different from the choice of the same woman fifteen or twenty years later. The opportunity to learn entirely new work is of prime importance for re-entry women.

There will however always be some, perhaps a majority, who wish to return to their original type of employment. The refresher course is perhaps the most obvious of the needs of re-entry and is one of the easier requirements to provide. The trained woman on a refresher course has the same need as the woman in full training for financial assistance, but the period in many cases can be quite short. In Sweden it has been found that a ten week course is sufficient to brush up office skills, and a great deal of paid refresher training can be and is being done on the job where the shortage of labour is acute enough to spur the employing authority into action.

One difficulty which arises over the provision of short refresher courses is the inadequate number of applicants in a given area at any one time. The German white collar trade union, die Deutsche Angestellten-gewerkschaft, has found that some of the courses it has attempted to provide foundered for this reason. Moreover, where a labour shortage is acute a woman with initial training can frequently get a job without any refresher course at all. Where good on-the-job training is provided this may be satisfactory for all concerned. It can also mean however that both the woman and her employer settle for a standard of work lower than could easily be attained with greater attention to refresher training. In the short run little harm may be done, but in the long run, anything which perpetuates the idea of the re-entry woman as a 'marginal worker' is contrary to her interests.

Until recently it was commonly assumed that older people could not learn new skills or study unfamiliar subjects successfully. Experience, especially wartime experience, has for some time suggested that this is

not necessarily true. Some kinds of learning do appear to deteriorate with age, but in a number of important areas, as the work of Dr. R. M. Belbin* has shown, it is possible for learning to continue much longer than was originally supposed, provided appropriate training methods are used.

The enquiries in the present study certainly confirm the view that the age of learning can be very considerably extended. In the co-operative store, PUB in Stockholm, for example, a three months training course for saleswomen aged 50 to 55 carried out over a number of years has proved successful. One American college teacher reported that older women students who had been "drop-outs" in their youth were obtaining consistently higher grades after their return than they had achieved during their first phase in college. In Sweden, the steel company ASEA selected women aged 25 - 40 for their special part-time scheme and found they all successfully completed the training and not only held down the jobs on which they were originally placed but in some cases were trained further and promoted to higher grade work. In the Svenska Salpeterverken chemical works, out of a group of 32 specially selected women aged 18 to 50, with an average age of 37, 31 successfully completed training.

These examples demonstrate the capacity to learn of properly selected older women. So far as this study is concerned, no examples were found of the deliberate use of the new training methods for older people pioneered by Belbin. It is reasonable to suppose that if success can be obtained even with conventional training methods then with specially adapted methods the range of older women capable of benefiting from training will be considerably extended.

While it is not claimed that special training methods were being employed for re-entry women there was evidence that at any rate some trainers were appreciating certain characteristics of re-entry women and were adapting their approach accordingly. In particular, the need for individual contact between the older trainee and a staff member was repeatedly stressed and it seems that some form of tutorial guidance can greatly increase the effectiveness of training for this group. Emphasis was also laid, for example, at the Sidney Webb College for Teachers in London, on the importance of recognizing the contribution that mature women can make to a course, and the need for "a relationship of equality" between staff and mature students. More research in this field is required, but from observation it seems that success in teaching re-entry women may well depend on the quality of this relationship between teacher and taught which can give the older woman respect

* R. M. Belbin - Employment of Older Workers, Training Methods, OECD, 1965.
R. M. Belbin - Employment of Older Workers, The Discovery Method, OECD, 1969.

and encouragement. In this way the threatening element in the training situation is reduced sufficiently to allow learning to take place.

4. ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

In addition to the practical problems already discussed, the opportunities and achievements of re-entry women are greatly affected by the attitudes and opinions of employers, by the women's own view of their work roles, and by public opinion.

Generalizations about attitudes, unsupported by detailed studies of a kind not possible in a survey of this type, cannot be made with any great degree of confidence. It is however useful to examine certain frequently expressed comments regarding the employment of re-entry women, which, where held, are likely to have an adverse effect on women's prospects.

- a) Employers' point-of-view: Many employers believe that married women are likely to be unreliable employees. Family responsibilities, it is argued, lead to high absence and turnover rates, and the re-entry woman as a second breadwinner does not really need to work: she is only looking for pin money. It is often stated that married women do not want responsibility. Given these views, the employer will conclude that re-entry women should only be employed where no other labour is available, will not waste time and money training them for skilled or responsible work, and will not consider them for promotion.

No doubt all these beliefs can be supported with regard to some re-entry women, but the sex of an employee is only one among a number of variables influencing behaviour and there is no justification for sweeping generalizations about women as employees which ignore all these other variables and assume that women, merely by virtue of their sex, behave in a uniform and standardized manner. From studies in a number of countries, it is clear that both absence and turnover rates among men as well as women are frequently much higher among unskilled workers than among the skilled and those in responsible positions. Since women are to be found mainly among the unskilled their reputation for high absence and instability may be a function of their grade as well as, or even instead of, their sex.

There is undoubted evidence that women in higher level jobs have markedly lower absence and turnover rates than women in lower level jobs. Some examples in this current survey support this argument. In the Netherlands, for example, married women at IBM in Amsterdam

had a labour turnover rate of only 13% and an absence rate of 7%. In Sweden in ASEA the specially trained group of 32 re-entry women engaged in 1960 were all still in employment with the company six years later, while a comparable group specially selected and trained at Svenska Salpeterverken has a turnover rate of only 14% per annum. Among the very small number of women in responsible positions stability is often high. In Irma, the multiple store organisation in Denmark, where there were a number of older women in management jobs, the average length of service for women in this grade was ten years. In Volvo in Goteborg, where women were doing customary men's jobs at the full men's rate of pay, the women's turnover rate was actually lower than the men's though the absence rate was higher. Among the post office workers at Goteborg, on the other hand, the women's turnover rate was about the same as the men's and the absence rate was lower.

Age is a further factor which needs to be examined separately when statements are made regarding the dependability of women workers. Irma in Denmark reported that the older women had a higher stability rate than the younger women. In a study of a group of older women trainees carried out in Sweden by the National Institute of Vocational Health it emerged that the older women were planning for a long period in the labour market, while at Philips in The Hague it was found that older women who had specifically said when recruited that they did not intend to remain more than a year or two in employment in fact did not leave as they had planned but stayed on for an indefinite period. In the Swedish co-operative store, PUB, a very high percentage of the trainees aged 50 to 55, most of whom had returned to work after a period of 10 to 15 years at home, settled down permanently in the organisation. A further example of the relative stability of older women is given by the Librarian at the London School of Economics who ceased employing unmarried girls for a special clerical job as he found older women had lower turnover rates.

These isolated examples in themselves prove nothing but they show that in some cases at any rate older women become reliable long-term employees. It is interesting too that in almost all the cases quoted, care had been taken in the selection and training of the women concerned. Age, level of employment, methods of selection and training all appear to affect the length and regularity of service that can be expected from re-entry women. In many cases sex appears to be a relatively unimportant factor.

The same type of argument applies to the alleged women's attitude towards promotion. There are a number of cases in which it has been found to be true that women do not seek promotion. There are also, as in the retail trade, other instances where women want promotion,

carry it successfully, and give long periods of service. The point that emerges most clearly is the extent to which opportunities for individual women, and the benefits employers could gain from promotion of appropriate women, are handicapped by generalizations about women as a whole. On any particular occasion an employer is not, in fact, promoting 'women' in the abstract but a particular woman to a particular job. The kind of individual assessment of the applicant's suitability which any competent management makes before promoting a man, if applied to a woman candidate would identify the woman whose individual attitudes and circumstances make her suitable for a particular promotion. So long as all women are saddled with the characteristics applied to 'woman' in the abstract the present frustrations and waste will continue. When this is accepted, employers in general may start to ask the question put by the Swedish Engineering company, "What jobs in this company cannot be done by a woman?". They may then find, as this company found, that few jobs are in fact beyond some woman's capacity. When and only when this happens, job opportunities for women will expand dramatically and the separate labour-markets for men and women will begin to integrate.

- b) Women's Approach: It is not, however, only the attitudes of employers which affect the job opportunities of women. In all the countries studied some women are working to bring about a radical change in job opportunities both for school-leavers and re-entry women, but in no country is there evidence of a widespread demand for change. In many cases it is a fact that neither girls nor re-entry women take full advantage of the training opportunities which already exist. Even in Sweden, where the greatest changes are being made and a considerable amount of public money is available, most girls and women still choose to enter the traditional women's occupations and choose the shorter and less ambitious training courses.

There are, of course, the exceptions, who may be the pace-setters of the next decade. In all countries, and particularly in Scandinavia, many of the highly educated younger women are determined to have both career and family, and do not accept that the career need be handicapped by the family or the family by the career. In many cases jobs are continued until the birth not of the first child but of the second, and in a number of instances young, highly qualified women are saying that they do not intend to re-enter employment because they are determined never to leave it. For some this is already possible and with future changes it may become an increasingly common practice. Every general reduction in the hours of full-time work makes the combination of work and family less arduous. In the case of Svenska Salpeterwerken the shift system reduces full-time work to less than 30 hours in a week,

with 3 days at work full-time on the appropriate shift followed by 4 days off. Women in this company, paid men's rates and free to work night shift as a result of legal changes, appear to find a full work load of this type compatible with family life.

At the present time, however, many would-be re-entry women aim no higher than a part-time job and it is an increase in the number of part-time openings which it is widely believed would be the greatest assistance to women combining work and family responsibilities. Part-time work for men is frequently suggested in Sweden to enable husbands and wives to share family responsibilities. If introduced this might lead to a general change in attitude towards part-time employment which is at present sometimes opposed by both employers and trade unions.

Part-time work has already been the subject of an exhaustive OECD enquiry and this is not the place to repeat the findings of that study. There are, however, one or two aspects of the subject so pertinent to the question of the re-entry woman that they must be included here. In every country in this study a very great many would-be re-entry women seek part-time work. On the other hand, the great majority of employers are only prepared to employ women part-time if full-time workers are unobtainable and they will normally only use part-time workers on low level work. Positions of responsibility, it is held, require full-time employees. The part-time worker is seen as a marginal employee, and the re-entry woman's interest in part-time jobs tends to confirm the common view that she is not seriously committed to work.

For some women part-time employment is a means of continuing work without a break while their children are young. In these cases the desire to obtain such work is a mark of great determination to continue a career, not a sign of indifference. Where women take a break there is a tendency for the break to become shorter. In an enquiry* carried out in 1968 by an employment agency in the United Kingdom it was found that among those studied 70% who had left work on marriage returned within four years. Many re-entry women start on a part-time basis and, after a period of time, transfer from part-time to full-time employment. Part-time work may be then a method of continuing an established career, or a means of acquiring new skills or a way of obtaining re-entry.

There is however a further point with regard to part-time employment which needs emphasis. While most employers see part-time work as a concession to re-entry women forced on them by the exigencies of the labour market, there are cases in which part-time employment can be beneficial both for the employer and for the economy as well as for

* Alfred Marks Bureau.

the employee. The retail trade, is the obvious example. At Bijenkorf in the Netherlands, a detailed study of the work load on selling staff showed that the planned employment of part-time staff to meet peak periods in the day, the week and the year led to considerable reduction in labour costs. Since it is likely there will always be re-entry women interested in part-time work studies are needed in areas other than the retail trade to discover part-time openings mutually beneficial to both employer and re-entry women. The less re-entry women are regarded by employers as a special group demanding special consideration the better the long term outlook for them will be.

Even where special concessions are made it has been shown that the unfavourable aspects of part-time employment, from the point of view of the employer and of full-time employees, can in some circumstances be greatly reduced by skilful management. The Partnership Teaching Scheme in Boston, United States, for example, gave greater flexibility to the teachers and at the same time greater security in staffing arrangements to the school. Some hostility was felt by the full-time staff against part-time nurses at the Free University Hospital at Amsterdam until the part-timers agreed to take their share in weekend duties. This point settled the scheme worked satisfactorily for all concerned.

- c) Public opinion: While it is hard to talk with any precision about concepts as vague as the attitudes of women and of employers it is even more difficult to identify the attitudes of that amorphous mass, the general public. Commonly held views about the employment of women in general and married women in particular do, however, influence both the women themselves and their employers. Such views also affect the extent to which practical support is forthcoming for schemes to assist the re-entry woman. At one extreme there exists in most countries some people who believe, often passionately, that women's place is exclusively in the home. In the early 1950's the Solvay Institute in Belgium* conducted a survey which showed that 25% of respondents believed that the married woman, even if she had no children, ought not to be allowed to go out to work. Many people who would not support this point of view sincerely believe, despite the absence of any real evidence, that a rising divorce rate and juvenile delinquency are both caused by married women working. It is commonly said that married women work only for pin money and are unreliable employees as they put personal and family convenience before the demands of the job. There is also a very large number of people who are

* La Condition Sociale de la Femme. Institut de Sociology Solvay, 1956.

convinced that there is a sharp division between women's work and men's work, and that the existing separate labour markets for men and women reflect innate differences between the sexes. In particular, to very many people it is unthinkable that a woman should be in a position of authority over a man.

While these views are widely held they are bound to affect the job opportunities and the training possibilities for women. They also influence girls and women themselves, the image they have of themselves and their work and the way in which they direct their energies. In the absence of clear information and guidance many women do not know what they ought to do, and feelings of guilt are easily roused which reduce both their effectiveness and their satisfaction. At a more practical level the public attitude towards re-entry women affects the extent of public provision which can make or mar this progress. Since in this field also OECD has already produced a detailed study*, only a few points of outstanding significance need to be discussed here.

1. Before a woman with family responsibilities can re-enter employment she has to decide how she will organise her affairs so that she can cope with the demands of both home and work. For the women with pre-school children some arrangements must be made for the children's supervision. In every country included in this survey emphasis was laid on the inadequate supply of creches and day nurseries in relation to the demand for accommodation for pre-school children. It was repeatedly stressed that where provision of this type was not available a very large number of private arrangements were made, some no doubt excellent but some giving rise to public scandals. On the other hand, as will be shown in a later section, pre-school provision is very expensive. For many mothers with children of this age it is the availability of day nursery accommodation which determines whether or not she re-enters the labour market. Adequate public provision, however, will only be forthcoming where public opinion is so strongly in favour of the re-entry of married women that day nurseries are given a high place on the long list of candidates competing for improved social services.

2. The mother of school children has problems different, but in their own way as severe, as the mother of pre-school children. The need to be home from work before the children return from school is one of the difficulties frequently mentioned by mothers in this group.

* Viola Klein, *Women Workers: Working Hours and Services*, OECD, Paris, 1965. Conclusions of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee: *Workers with Family Responsibilities*, January, 1968.

Shorter working hours, a husband with a flexible schedule, arrangements with friends, or after-school play centres, are the solutions adopted to avoid that most frequently criticized consequence of mothers' working - 'the latchkey child'. Many mothers in fact find it easier to arrange late afternoon care for their children than to cope with the school holiday periods when supervision and food have to be provided to cover the whole day for several weeks on end. Holiday camps and centres organised, as in France, by education authorities or employers are one constructive way of meeting this problem. Unpaid leave of absence from employment is a common solution, but it is expensive for both the employer and the woman and is likely to restrict the opportunities of the woman who regularly takes advantage of it.

For mothers of school children two points of school organisation are of particular importance. Where, as in Germany, the school day normally finishes at 2 p.m., the employment possibilities for the mother are severely limited. A further point is the existence of school dinners. Probably no one thing has done more to release the British mother and to simplify her working day than the provision of the mid-day meal at school. The children leave home in time to be at school at 9 a.m. and the mother's day is free for her to organise as she will until they return, probably between 4 and 5 in the evening, having had their main meal. If in addition both her husband and she, herself, have had a canteen meal at work, the housewife's burden of shopping and cooking is very considerably lightened and her timetable, though still crowded, is manageable.

3. Many re-entry women do not have dependent children at home. At the very least, however, they will be responsible for running a home for themselves and their husbands and often, with the increasing number of old people in the community, they have some responsibility for an elderly relative. A woman who takes part-time employment can usually adjust her timetable so that she can cope with both domestic and work demands. But a full-time job, for which a woman is paid the full-time rate for the job, cannot be indefinitely carried by a woman with a full-time domestic load without strains occurring in the job, the home, or the woman herself. In Sweden, and in some other countries, stress is laid on the importance of training boys so that husbands and wives may share the work of bringing up a family and running a home. In addition full-time work would be a practical proposition for many women if it were possible to obtain some help with their domestic duties. If it is accepted policy to encourage re-entry on a full-time basis the most efficient means of easing the domestic burden need to be studied.

The adequate provision of help in the home will not be organised quickly. Meanwhile much could be done by the extension of facilities already available. The opening of self-service laundries, dry cleaning depots, and shops outside working hours can do much to lighten the

working housewife's load. The amount of work to be done remains the same but the strain is reduced as the timetable becomes less rigid.

So much for the steps to be taken to assist the woman at home so that she can organise her home life satisfactorily when she returns to work. Her effectiveness at work is also dependent in many cases on public support in other directions. Stress has already been laid on the need to provide adequate guidance to the woman seeking re-entry. This involves public expenditure and therefore requires public support. No less important is adequate financial assistance during the training period. In some countries, in Sweden for example, the re-entry woman is treated on all fours with persons already in employment with regard to training opportunities and training grants. Elsewhere, in Canada for example, this is not the position and wives returning to work receive less assistance than men and women who have lost a job and seek re-training as unemployed persons qualifying for a new type of work. Whatever the arguments which distinguish re-entry women from these other groups two facts are clear. Husbands, though they may not actively oppose their wives' re-entry, are often only lukewarm in their support. Many a husband views somewhat ruefully the re-organisation of home-life he expects to accompany his wife's return to work. If in addition he finds himself out of pocket, his lack of support may well turn to positive discouragement. Faced with this attitude many women abandon the whole scheme.

It is moreover noticed in a number of countries, even in Sweden, that many re-entry women choose the shorter rather than the longer training programmes, thus perpetuating the under-utilization of abilities which characterizes women's employment in all the countries studied. Inadequate financial support obviously discourages attendance at the longer and more ambitious courses.

In further ways existing public policy affects the opportunities available to re-entry women. The legal restrictions on the employment of women, including the prohibition common in many countries on night work, excludes them from certain jobs and provides a ready-made excuse for employers who do not wish to make use of women. In the ILO report, Women Workers in a Changing World, it was suggested that legal limitations on work should not normally depend on the sex of the worker but on the nature of the work, whether done by a man or a woman. The experience at Svenska Salpeterwerken is specially interesting in this connection; because women are free to work on the night shift they are able to take their place beside men on a shift rota system which gives them short hours of work and a comparatively long spell at home between their working periods. This arrangement would of course have been impossible in any country with traditional protective legislation.

Taxation is another sphere in which public policy can either encourage and assist or discourage and handicap the re-entry woman. Two issues in particular arise in this connection. Should a married couple be taxed as one tax unit or two? The effect of either policy will vary according to the total tax system in the country concerned. In the United Kingdom, for example, the system of aggregation and tax allowance favours the married woman as compared with the single woman below the surtax level, but penalizes the married couple where both husband and wife hold well-paid responsible jobs. In Denmark protest against the consequences of aggregation led to a change in the tax law taking effect from 1969, which replaced aggregation by separate taxation.

In addition to this central problem there are also related issues of tax allowances. It is for instance argued in some quarters that there should be tax concessions to assist with the expenses incurred by the married woman at work.

This is not the place to explore detailed arguments for tax changes, but undoubtedly the level of taxation can influence the decision to return to work. Once it is accepted that re-entry should be encouraged and obstacles to it removed then it follows that the tax system should be examined to see how existing provisions relate to this policy.

Finally, if there were a real public concern to improve the opportunities for re-entry women the pressures for equal pay for work of equal value would be greatly intensified. At existing levels of pay the net financial return to many re-entry women is pathetically low. Many of the costs of working discussed in a subsequent section do not increase as the level of pay of the woman rises. Although in the existing situation the introduction of equal pay might well bring problems as well as opportunities for re-entry women, for those able to obtain employment it would undoubtedly mean a more worthwhile return for a very considerable effort.

The opportunities and problems discussed in this section suggest that the vast majority of women have long been, and still are, confined to a limited number of jobs traditionally regarded as women's work. There are, however, some slight signs of change. New technologies are creating new jobs and some of these, for example in process industry and in data processing, are available for women. In Sweden, Denmark and Germany many women take white collar technical jobs as draughtsmen and laboratory assistants. In Scandinavian countries also there are women taxi drivers and bus drivers but the scale of the change both in the range of jobs open to women and in the number entering new fields is still very small indeed.

III

NOTES ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COLLABORATING COUNTRIES

CANADA

Legal and Administrative Framework

In Canada responsibility for the recruitment, training and placement of older women is a part of the general work of the Department of Manpower and Immigration, which exercises its powers with regard to older women under the 1967 Adult Occupational Training Act.

The Labour Market

According to the 1961 Canadian census figures*, women in all occupations in Canada numbered 1,763,862, compared with 4,694,294 men. Of these women 55.86% were in white collar occupations. Only 3.26% of all economically active women were in managerial occupations compared with 10.24% men. 15.41% were in professional and technical categories, mainly in the traditional women's jobs, compared with 7.58 men. No less than 7.13% of all women, nearly half this professional group, were in teaching, and a further 5.44% in the health professions. This 5.44% was made up of 4.65% nurses and nurses in training and only 0.08% physicians, surgeons and 0.01% dentists. Out of a total of 42,990 professional engineers of all types there were only 116 women. Out of 2,940 architects 66 were women, and out of 20,615 draughtsmen 865 were women. Blue collar occupations took only 12.82%, a decrease from 18.09% a decade earlier, but clerical work absorbed 28.84% and selling 8.35%.

* Figures extracted from the Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force by Sylvia Ostry, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967.

The supply of women for the available jobs was governed in the 1951-61 decade by a shift towards an older female population and by rising participation rates among older women, as is shown in Table 7.

Table 7. PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF THE FEMALE POPULATION BY AGE GROUP, CANADA, 1951 TO 1961, IN RELATION TO PARTICIPATION RATES AS WAGE-EARNERS

AGE GROUP	PERCENTAGE INCREASE 1951-1961	PARTICIPATION RATES AS WAGE-EARNERS	
		1951	1961
15-19	35.1	36.14	32.16
20-24	8.2	45.76	47.96
25-34	10.2	22.71	26.94
35-44	30.5	19.36	26.85
45-54	35.4	17.57	28.17
55-59	23.6	13.55	22.96
60-64	15.2	10.10	16.62
65 and over	34.0	3.85	5.01
TOTALS	30.2	22.19	26.46

Among married women, as is brought out in Table 8, the increase is even sharper.

Table 8. PARTICIPATION RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN 1951-1961 BY AGE GROUP

	1951	1961
15-19	15.94	23.10
20-24	16.80	25.75
25-34	10.75	18.69
35-44	10.48	20.96
45-54	8.85	21.14
55-59	5.35	14.35
60-64	3.28	8.65
65 and other	1.20	2.20

Special Labour Force Studies, Series B, No. 1. John D. Allingham, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Since 1961 there has been a further marked increase in the number of women in employment, which rose to 2,296,000 in 1967 while the participation rate rose to 33.8%. Of the additional women in employment over three quarters were absorbed into the traditional women's occupations, in clerical work, sales and services. Of particular interest is the increase during this period of the participation rate among older women as Table 9 shows.

Table 9. LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES
FOR WOMEN BY AGE GROUP
1957 - 1962 - 1967

AGE	TOTAL	14-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
YEAR								
1967 ...	33.8	31.6	56.6	34.4	37.0	39.7	28.6	5.9
1962 ...	29.0	30.9	49.7	28.5	31.1	33.3	23.8	5.6
1957 ...	25.8	33.1	46.5	26.2	25.2	26.3	18.2	5.0

Extracted from Women in the Labour Force, Canada Department of Labour, Women's Bureau (April 1968).

As would be expected, increased participation by older women has been accompanied by increased participation by married women. While the proportion of married women in the population fell from 65.27% to 63.6% between 1962 and 1967, the participation rate for married women during the same period rose from 48.4% to 53.3%.

Married women were not employed as teachers until 1950 when they were accepted as a result of an acute shortage in the schools. Since then it has been possible for returning married women to become teachers as there has been no age bar for new recruits provided the candidate is not within fifteen years of retirement age. A good deal of training has been on an in-service basis. In the future, however, the higher standards being demanded in the teaching profession will make this a more difficult field for the non-graduate older woman to enter.

In the nursing profession, on the other hand, shortages in many although not all of the Canadian provinces and the virtual absence of an upper age limit for admission to training have led to a wide development of training opportunities for older women, both as professional and practical nurses and as nursing aides.

In many parts of Canada office work and retail trade remain the main fields of employment for the older woman, especially as it is in these jobs that most of the opportunities for part-time employment exist.

As the figures already quoted show, there is a considerable demand for paid employment among married women. The more highly educated wish to work both to add to the family income and to use their earlier training, though the likelihood that a woman will take paid employment tends to decrease as her husband's income rises. Among the less well educated groups there is a strong financial incentive to get a job, particularly among the Canadian born wives of immigrants and among immigrant women who need to supplement the family income in a country with high standards and high costs of living.*

Provisions to facilitate re-entry

Under the 1967 Adult Occupational Training Act the Canadian Government, acting through the Department of Manpower and Immigration, accepted wide responsibilities for manpower forecasting, manpower counselling and training. Work in this field had previously been undertaken by the Canada Department of Labour. As a matter of policy no distinction is made between men and women so far as the provisions of the department are concerned, though the existence of part-time as well as full-time training schemes is particularly helpful to older women.

Under the Act manpower centres have been established throughout the provinces of Canada where a manpower counsellor is available and can guide the older woman seeking to return to work. After counselling, the applicant can be referred for a free training course. Training allowances are also paid but only to a man or woman who has been in the labour market during the previous three years, or who is the head of a household with one or more people dependent on him. This of course means that a large number of married women get free training but are not eligible for the training allowance.

In making provision for training the department uses existing Federal Government schemes but also buys appropriate training courses wherever the necessary facilities can be found: in municipal schemes, in private establishments or in private industry.

* The Female Worker in Canada, Sylvia Ostry, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1968.

Adaptation and establishment of training schemes to meet needs of older women

As has been shown, the general provisions for adult training go a long way to meet the needs of the re-entry woman. There are, however, certain schemes of particular interest which illustrate important developments in this field.

a) Nursing

Quo Vadis Hospital, Toronto. In this hospital the normal three year training programme has been shortened to two years for carefully selected older women, and the course has been specially adapted to meet the needs and abilities of more mature trainees.

b) Social Work

University of Manitoba. The normal two year full-time training course has been re-designed to be taken two days a week over a period of five years.

c) Teaching

In the province of Ontario a system of "internships" is said to have attracted good quality older women.

d) Short courses for professional aides and manual occupations

The Adult Education Centre at Toronto operates courses, most of which last four months, on a three shift basis round the clock, though only men are accepted for the night shift. These courses are not designed especially for women but the shift hours are often particularly suitable for the woman who must earn or look after her family during part of the day. There are commercial refresher courses, and other programmes include training for:

- Nursery aids.
- Nursing aids.
- Home-makers.
- Dress making and altering.
- Power machinists.
- Pattern making and design.
- Video typists.

Assessment of Effectiveness

It is not easy to assess the effectiveness of these measures. Some schemes have acquired a high reputation, for example the Quo Vadis Hospital nursing scheme. It is also said that the teaching "internships" have brought valuable mature women into teaching.

At the Adult Education Centre in Toronto a spot check to illustrate the use made of training by the trainees, many but not all of whom were married women, gave the following results:

Power Sewing Course:

- 122 students aged 27-60 took the course.
- 100 took a job on completing the course.
- 13 transferred to another course.
- 8 became pregnant.
- 1 moved to another town.

Video typing Course:

- 17 students took the course.
- 17 took jobs.

Nursery aids:

- 30 students (all married women) took the course.
- 29 took jobs.

Dress making and altering:

- 27 students took the course.
- 22 took jobs.

Pattern making and design:

- 16 students took the course.
- 11 took jobs.

The cost of training courses varied considerably according to the equipment used. In 1968, home-making and nursery aids courses were estimated to cost \$4.50 per student day. Dress making, pattern making and design, nursing aids and video typing cost \$6.00 per student day. To this must be added the cost of paying allowances to students with dependants.

DENMARK

Legal and Administrative Framework

In Denmark the recruitment, training and placement of re-entry women is the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour, assisted by a specially appointed counsellor for women's occupations.

There is no special legislation with regard to the older woman but under the 1960 Act for the Education of the Unskilled Worker, funds and training schemes are available. Courses are organised by a Training Council for Unskilled Labour with sub-committees for special trades. The Committees make estimates of training needs; put forward suggestions for courses; and prepare training programmes. The actual training is carried out in special schools, some directly owned by the state but mainly privately established and now run with a very high degree of state support. A good deal of training is carried on in industrial enterprises where training places are paid for under the Act by public funds.

The Labour Market Position for Women

In 1969 there were 2,366,800 gainfully occupied persons in Denmark: 1,473,400 men and 893,400 women. 538,700 of the women were married. Women thus comprised 38% of the total, of which 60% were married. An enquiry in 1967 showed that about 40% of the married women only work part-time. Part-time work is defined as any work for less than the standard hours in a given occupation. There is a very considerable demand for part-time work as the figures quoted here suggest, and as the officials running the Ministry of Labour's special vocational guidance courses confirm. This demand is likely to increase rather than diminish if there is an extension of the practice already noticeable among some women with higher education or professional qualifications who make no break in their careers and continue in employment while

having babies and bringing up small children. For women who choose this pattern of life, part-time employment is seen as the way to combine family responsibilities with the continuity which is felt by many to be essential in higher level jobs. Trade Union policy is divided with regard to the development of part-time work. A Trade Union Conference in the mid-sixties came out in support of the practice but some collective agreements make it a condition that employment should be for not less than forty-two hours a week.

Just under 47% of all married women in Denmark were employed or self-employed - either in their own or in their husband's farms and businesses.

The distribution of the working population is given in Table 10.

Table 10

THE LABOUR FORCE, 1969	MEN	WOMEN	MARRIED WOMEN INCLUDED IN THE FIGURES
Independent in trades and professions	325,400	38,800	20,600
Employees in administration and public service	418,300	411,100	210,300
Skilled workers	326,800	15,800	6,400
Unskilled workers	402,900	266,900	172,600
Domestic workers	-	38,600	4,600
Helping wives	-	122,200	122,200
TOTAL	1,473,400	893,400	538,700

Denmark by Svend Bache Vognbjerg for OECD Seminar on Employment of Women.

From this table it is clear that Denmark conforms to the normal pattern in the near exclusion of women from the category of skilled workers, though it is interesting that in the public sector, as Vognbjerg points out, 18,000 women are graded as "other technical employees".

New openings for women are reported in the lower levels of computer work, as draughtswomen and laboratory assistants, and as taxi, bus and tram drivers. Apart from these relatively new developments women are concentrated in unskilled work in industry, and in shops, offices and service occupations.

An important characteristic of the Danish economy has been the persistence of the small family businesses and farms. As Table 10 shows, no less than 122,200 women, or 23% of all gainfully occupied married women, are classified as "Helping Wives".

Family farms are however becoming fewer and during the nineteen sixties the percentage of the active population engaged in agriculture has fallen from 18% to 12%. As a result an increasing number of farmers and farmers' wives are looking for new ways of earning a living and are entering the labour market for the first time.

Demographic changes tend also to increase the supply of women available for and seeking work. As elsewhere, the average age of marriage in Denmark is falling, about half the female population marrying before the age of 21. The typical family has fewer than three children and child-bearing is finished by the time the mother is about 28. Even as recently as 1960 women constituted only 30% of the labour force, 40% of them married, compared with 38% of which 60% were married in 1969.

Provisions to facilitate re-entry

a) Information and Advice

The Ministry of Labour, aware of the difficulties encountered by women considering re-entry into the labour market, have established vocational guidance courses of two weeks duration to provide information about available jobs and to give an opportunity for the discussion of personal problems. In addition to talks on job openings and related questions each member of the course spends two days in each week in a place of work; in offices, shops, industry, or in a social affairs department. No payment is made to the women attending the course, but their expenses are met.

b) Availability of training and re-training

Women re-entering employment benefit from the training facilities provided under the 1960 Act for the Education of the Unskilled Worker. Under this scheme short-term courses normally of three weeks' duration

are provided, at the end of which the trainee enters employment. A number of subsequent courses, normally of three weeks' duration, are also available so that by a sandwich programme of training and work the trainee can pass from unskilled to semi-skilled status. These courses, which are free, are open to all adults over the age of eighteen and are most suitable for re-entry women. A woman taking such a course receives an allowance which amounts to about 80% of the basic wage for the occupation for which she is being trained, irrespective of her husband's income.

Skilled work normally implies work for which an apprenticeship has been served, usually for four years and mostly through on-the-job training. For shop and office workers the apprenticeship lasts two to four years depending on previous education. Technical drawing, in which over 50% of the jobs are now held by women, requires a training course of 20 weeks followed by 1.5 years on the job training. Work as a laboratory assistant and low level computer jobs are now popular among girls but very few older women are entering these more technical categories. Re-training courses of two and four weeks' duration are available in office and shop work, where the overwhelming majority of the small number of skilled women are employed.

The position in the teaching profession is interesting. The three-and-a-half to four year training requirement is rigorously upheld and a woman who has dropped out before completion of the course cannot normally take up the training where she left off.

Assessment of Effectiveness

On the vocational guidance courses 50% of the women who attended the first fifteen courses took a job immediately upon completion of the course, about 70% of them on a part-time basis. Of the remainder an unknown proportion no doubt took a specific training. The cost of these two weeks' courses is about 400 D.Kr. per person, a very small price to pay to enable a woman to assess realistically her chances in the labour market. In terms of avoidance of costly labour wastage, and of satisfaction to the women, this investment can hardly fail to pay off.

The two week training and re-training courses are estimated to cost about 2,000 D.Kr. per student, to cover training expenses, board and lodging where required, and the training grant. For this course it is estimated that 95% of those starting the course complete it. The drop out rate for those taking the unskilled workers course is higher. It is not known in this grade how many of those who commence training complete it, nor what percentage subsequently enter employment. Without such information no precise estimate of effectiveness is possible.

From the point of view of the women themselves the vocational guidance programme is clearly meeting a need. It is noticeable, however, that almost all the women taking advantage of it come from middle-class groups. The scheme is still relatively new, and to succeed in its purpose will have to attract a much wider range of student.

The women's desire for part-time employment has been made plain. At present openings of this kind are still in a limited range of jobs, giving restricted choice and scope. This limited range of jobs, whether part-time or full-time, is a main characteristic of the labour market for the re-entry women. Younger women are pioneering new areas, but there is little sign that the older woman, with equal capacity but perhaps a different attitude, is able to take advantage of such new opportunities as are emerging.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Legal and Administrative Framework

The Arbeitsförderungsgesetz (Law on Labour Promotion) which came into force on 1st July, 1969, endows the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit with greater possibilities to prepare women who interrupted their employment for entry and/or re-entry to the labour market and to adapt their knowledge and their capabilities to the necessities of economy.

The Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs is also responsible for the legislation in the field of labour market policy. The implementation of placement, employment counselling and professional guidance as well as measures for the promotion of professional knowledge is, among others, the responsibility of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (until 1st July, 1969, called "Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung"). This agency is a body corporate with its own administration, only subject to the legal control of the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The main office of this agency is located in Nuremberg. The labour exchanges of the Länder (Landesarbeitsämter) and the labour exchanges (Arbeitsämter) are agencies of the Bundesanstalt. (For further details see "The Federal Institute for Placement and Unemployment Insurance".)

In the main no special provision is made for re-entry women, for whom all the normal services of the Labour Administration are available, but vocational counselling of women re-entering the labour market is primarily given in cases where women seeking employment opt for a new profession and its corresponding training. The majority of women, who - after no longer being occupied with family duties - look for a job, establish in most cases contact with the placement officer responsible for their former profession, who will give them the necessary guidance.

In recent years, however, women who have not yet clear ideas about a new activity, can apply in all labour exchanges to experienced experts of the labour market for consultation. So far there is no necessity to enlarge the already existing counselling services. With a very absorbent labour market all women seeking employment could find jobs corresponding to their capacities through competent placement offices.

The Labour Administration has power to foster training by the provision of its own courses, by paying for approved courses run by other institutions, and by making grants to trainees.

The Labour Market Position for Women

In 1966 there were about 9,000,000 gainfully occupied women in the Federal Republic of Germany, including women working in agriculture and forestry. Women comprised 36.7% of the total employed population. The distribution of women in different sectors of the economy is given in Table 11.

Table 11*

1. Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries ...	1,478,000
2. Power, mining and water supply	29,000
3. Manufacturing industry	3,000,068
4. Building industry	119,000
5. Commerce	1,726,000
6. Communications	250,000
7. Banking and Insurance	265,000
8. Personnel Services and Miscellaneous ..	1,970,000

* Wirtschaft und Statistik, Heft 2, 1967. In Ausbildung, Weiterbildung, Aufstieg von Mädchen und Frauen in der modernen Arbeitswelt by Dorothee Wilms, Eva Maria Dernesbaum, 1967.

The levels of employment in which the women were engaged are shown in Table 12.

Table 12

1. Self-employed	625,000
2. Helping in family businesses	1,780,000
3. Officials and Managers	187,000
4. White Collar Workers	3,571,000
5. Manual Workers	3,616,000

As in other countries, German women are to be found to an overwhelming extent in the traditional women's occupations of teaching, nursing, health and welfare services, in office work, retail distribution and other service occupations, and in unskilled and semi-skilled work in manufacturing industry. In 1965-66 out of 424,802 female apprentices more than half went into commercial occupations, and a further third into administrative and health service work. Radical changes in the labour demands for women are rare, though something of a breakthrough has been made in draughtsmanship. In 1950 there were 330 girls compared with 2,215 boys in training for draughtsmanship. By 1961 there were 60,400 men and 28,100 women in this occupation, and in 1966-1967 there were 3,623 girl trainees compared with 5,050 boys.

In customary women's jobs however labour shortages have created a demand for part-time workers - part-time being defined as employment for less than the standard hours of the job. These opportunities, much sought after by married women, vary with the state of the labour market as most employers only contemplate part-time workers when they have tried in vain to fill their vacancies with full-timers. In some places however it has become an established and continuing practice. In the Post Office, for example, in 1968, nearly 40% of the total female labour force was working on a part-time basis. No less than 14,638 women white collar workers and 36,093 women manual workers were in the part-time category compared with approximately 81,000 full-time women workers. Part-timers are used as a matter of policy by the Post Office to cope with peak periods and so to avoid idle time among full-timers. They are also taken on, despite proportionately higher administrative costs compared with full-timers, when there is no other way of filling regular vacancies.

The number of women in employment leaves no doubt that German women today of all ages and for a variety of reasons are seeking paid employment outside the home on a large scale. Of all women between the ages of 15 and 65 no less than 47% are working, and in 1964 the participation rate, according to age was as follows:

AGE GROUP	ALL WOMEN	MARRIED WOMEN ONLY
- 15	0.7	-
15 - 20	69.2	53.8
20 - 25	71.7	51.8
25 - 30	51.3	40.4
30 - 35	43.2	35.8
35 - 40	45.1	37.8
40 - 45	47.6	39.9
45 - 50	45.1	37.6
50 - 55	40.6	33.3
55 - 60	34.7	27.7
60 - 65	22.9	18.8
65 - 70	12.5	11.5
70 - 75	7.0	7.2
75 + ...	2.8	3.3

Report. Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung, September 1966.

In line with this high overall participation rate it is not surprising to see the two-peak pattern of employment among married women, over half of whom are working until the 25-30 age group, when the figure begins to fall, to rise to a second peak of nearly 40% in the 40-45 age group. It is interesting that at no time, even when family demands are likely to be heaviest, does the percentage of married women in employment fall below a third until the 55-60 age group is reached.

Provisions to facilitate the re-entry of women into employment

Vocational Guidance

In recent years special women's officers have been available at the labour exchanges to assist women wishing to return to work. There has however been no widespread development of the use of professionally qualified vocational guidance experts, though the need for specialists in this field is officially recognized.

Refresher courses, training and re-training

The Labour Administration buys training places in existing training institutions to assist with training and equipment costs. Grants are paid to anyone undertaking training, male or female. In the Training Act of 1969 the re-entry woman is specifically mentioned as a category for whom training facilities are available.

Training supported by the Ministry may be:

- a) Refresher courses;
- b) Courses for those already in employment who seek to be upgraded (the majority of trainees are in this category);
- c) Courses for people whose training has been interrupted.

Training may be on a full-time or a part-time basis and there are arrangements for training by correspondence courses.

When a woman is taken on by an employer for training, the Labour Administration pays the employer up to 60% of her wages while she is learning her job, if necessary, for a period of two years. In certain cases, where it is considered that the woman will not be easy to train to become an effective worker and an employer would not normally engage her, the Labour Administration subsidizes the employer to persuade him to attempt to place her in productive work.

In addition to training undertaken or sponsored by the Labour Administration other interesting initiatives have been taken to assist re-entry women:

- a) The People's University, financed by Land Governments, has organised refresher courses for re-entry women in three towns;
- b) Courses run by Trade Unions. Die Deutsche Angestellten-gewerkschaft, the "white collar" union, of which one third of the

members are women, organises a considerable number of training courses for office and shop workers. Students attending these courses can receive grants from the Labour Administration on the lines already described. Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund offers beginners courses and training in office work in conjunction with state run schemes;

- c) Chambers of Commerce and Employers' Associations provide training courses.

The courses most frequently taken are in office work. There are however other training courses available for women who wish to take up new careers. These include:

- a) Practical nursing: one year of theory and practice financed by a training grant, followed by two years in hospital when the trainee is paid by the hospital;
- b) Librarian assistants: a two year course open to anyone, though not many older women take this opening;
- c) On the job training given by an employer.

Assessment of Effectiveness

A very considerable amount of training of older women is going on in the Federal Republic. There are no exact figures of the number of trainees who complete training, and who having entered employment continue to work for at least two years, but it is estimated that 80% to 90% of the trainees at least enter the job for which they have been trained. One difficulty experienced in organising refresher and other courses for married women is the need to have sufficient people for a given course in the same geographical area. Some of the organisations running courses have had to abandon schemes as insufficient numbers have been forthcoming. It is also clear that the courses are in the main for traditional occupations and are organised on traditional lines.

FRANCE

Legal and Administrative Framework

In France the responsibility for the recruitment, training and placement of women re-entering the labour market is part of the work of the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Population. Since 1946 the State has accepted financial responsibility for training and re-training schemes and a considerable amount of training is organised by the Ministry of Social Affairs through the Association Nationale pour la Formation Professionnelle des Adultes (AFPA), where training opportunities are available for men and women alike. Grants are also given to private institutions and companies providing approved adult training courses. In 1954 legislation was passed to encourage industrial decentralisation in an attempt to adjust the uneven employment situation throughout France. In support of this policy State loans are available for enterprises moving into development areas and special grants for re-training are made to both men and women in these areas.

The Law of 18th December 1963, setting up the National Employment Fund, made funds available for persons wishing to be re-trained (re-training allowances) or to move (assistance for geographical mobility), by agreements concluded with firms.

The Law of 3rd December 1966 provided wider opportunities for the State to assist firms, trade associations or unions, and public or private educational establishments wishing to provide vocational training. Agreements may be concluded between the State and these various bodies with a view to the training of male or female workers. Certain provisions of this Law benefit women who have brought up three or more children, and also widows, women who are divorced or separated from their husbands, or unmarried mothers who are heads of families and wish to be employed in skilled work.

Finally, the Law of 31st December 1968 redefined, co-ordinated and improved the conditions of "remuneration" for persons receiving vocational training.

The Labour Market Position of Women

After reaching a peak in 1921, the women's activity rate declined continuously until 1962. * The results of the 1968 census, however, appear to indicate the end of this downward trend since the rate rose from 42.8% in 1962 to 43.5% in 1968. In the non-agricultural sector the increase was from 32.4% in 1954 to 37.8 in 1968 (see Table 13).

Table 13. TREND OF THE ACTIVITY RATE OF THE POPULATION IN THE 15 - 64 AGE GROUP¹

	ACTIVITY RATE			INDEX OF TREND		
	1954	1962	1968	1962/54	1968/62	1968/54
Total Population						
Women	44.1	42.8	43.5	97.1	101.6	98.6
Men	87.6	82.5	81.8	94.2	99.2	93.4
Non-agricultural Population						
Women	32.4	35.0	37.8	108.0	108.0	116.7
Men	65.5	66.6	70.0	101.7	105.1	106.9

1. The figures and conclusions given here are taken from Madame Claude ROUX "Tendances récentes de l'activité féminine en France" - Population, February 1970 and "Les Françaises dans la vie active" - Population et Sociétés, March 1970. See also "L'évolution récente de la structure socio-professionnelle de la population active" by Bernard Grais - Economie et Statistique No. 2.

Throughout this period there was a reduction in women's participation in non-salaried activities: self-employed, family helpers, etc. ,

* The activity rate defined here is the number of active women in the 15 to 64 age group as a proportion of the total female population in the same age group.

partially offsetting a large increase in the number of women employees, notably in the towns, indicating a radical change of attitude to work outside the home.

This change in attitude is to be found mainly among married women. The increase in the proportion of women in non-agricultural employment has been much higher among married women since 1921 than for the female population as a whole.

More recently, between 1954 and 1968, women's activity rates in occupations other than agriculture increased by 17% for all women and 35% for married women.

	ACTIVITY RATE OF MARRIED WOMEN		
	1954	1962	1968
Total active population	34.7	35.1	37.8
Non-agricultural active population	23.1	26.7	31.1

Trend of labour force participation rates for women by socio-occupational category

Women's entry into the labour market is not measured solely in quantitative terms.

As shown in the table below, there was a continuous increase in the proportion of women in medium-level executive posts on the one hand, and in the professions and managerial posts on the other hand, the percentages in 1968 being 41% and 11% respectively. It is however the traditional women's occupations of teaching, nursing and social work which account for the relatively high percentage of women in this category. The percentage of women in medium level administrative jobs rose only from 31.3% to 34.8% between 1962 and 1968, while in the important technician grade the very low figure of 8.9% in 1962 had increased only to 11.2% by 1968. Among higher grade administrative and engineers the 1954 figure of 7.2% rose to 9.9% in 1962, but the upward trend did not continue on the same scale as by 1968 there were only 10% in all. In these categories in which great expansion is to be expected these figures show little sign of real improvement in opportunities

Table 14. TREND IN NUMBERS OF WOMEN IN EACH SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

	1954	1962	1968
(as percentage)			
- Farmers and agricultural wage-earners	35.5	32.9	32.6
- Employers in industry and commerce	37.2	36.3	34.9
- Professional and managerial	13.8	16.6	18.8
of which:			
- professions	15.6	17.3	19.4
- teachers and others	39.9	43.0	45.1
- administrators and engineers	7.2	9.9	10.0
- Medium-level executive	36.7	39.3	40.6
of which:			
- primary school teachers and others	(1)	64.1	62.4
- medical and social services	(1)	84.4	83.8
- technicians	(1)	8.9	11.2
- medium-level administrators	(1)	31.3	34.8
- Clerical	52.8	58.1	60.8
- Manual	22.7	21.6	20.4
- Service	80.7	80.0	79.1
- TOTAL as percentage of active population	34.8	34.4	34.9

1. The nomenclature of socio-occupational categories for these posts was changed between 1954 and 1962.

SOURCES: Censuses.

for women, or in the use of womanpower to meet increasing demands. It is in the traditionally feminine clerical occupations that the growth in women's employment is to be found. No less than 60.8% of all clerical workers were women in 1968 compared with 52.8% in 1954. The percentage of women in manual and service categories fell slightly during the same period, probably as a result of the elimination of the most unskilled jobs by greater mechanisation and automation.

Women's activity according to age

Activity rates for each five-year age group are shown in the table on page 59.

On the whole, leaving aside the 15 - 19 age group which is affected by the constant increase in the school attendance ratio, it is the younger age groups (20 - 40) for which the activity rate tends to rise from one census to another.

After 40 the 1968 rates are regularly lower than those for 1954, but are higher than in 1962.

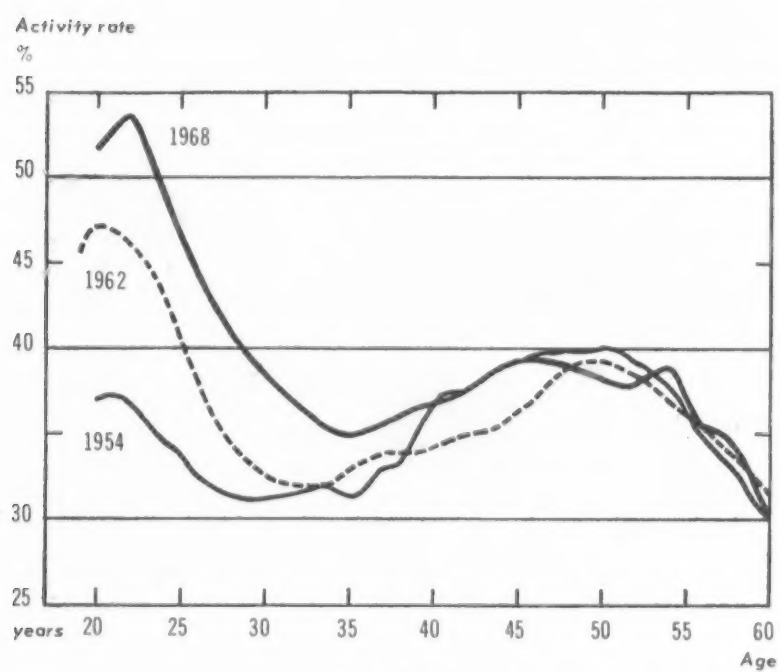
After 50 there is a constant decline in activity.

Between 1962 and 1968 this trend was in fact more marked among men than among women, and also more marked in agricultural than in non-agricultural households.

The return to work of married women

Married women comprise 65% of all women in the age group 15 - 64 and the growth in the activity rate is greater for married women than for women as a whole. The two graphs given below show clearly the trend, particularly for married women in non-agricultural occupations. If the tendency for married women to re-enter employment can be measured by the difference between the activity rate at age 35, when the curve touches the bottom of the trough, and the rate at 45 when children are grown up, it does not appear from these graphs that there is in fact a marked tendency for mothers to return to the labour market. The 1968 figures do however show that a markedly higher percentage of married women were working at both 35 and at 45 in 1968 compared with 1954. This suggests that an increasing number of women in fact continue to work while their children are young. For them the re-entry problem does not arise because they never leave employment, but all the other issues which affect the married woman at work apply equally to the mother who re-enters employment and the mother who has no break in her working life. Moreover, a more detailed analysis of

Graph No. 1
TOTAL ACTIVITY RATE FOR MARRIED WOMEN



Graph No. 2
NON-AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY RATE FOR MARRIED WOMEN

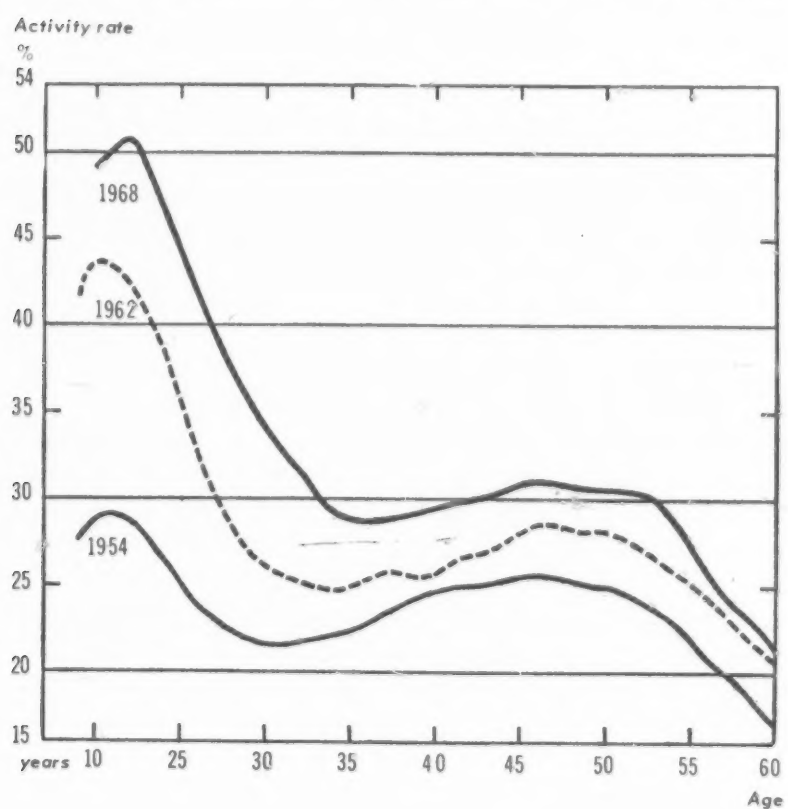


Table 15. TREND OF WOMEN'S ACTIVITY
(TOTAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL) ACCORDING TO AGE

AGE	TOTAL ACTIVITY RATE			NON-AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY RATE		
	1968	1962	1954	1968	1962	1954
15 - 19 years	31.4	35.7	43.4	28.9	30.7	30.5
20 - 24 years	62.4	61.8	57.2	59.6	56.0	45.7
25 - 29 years	50.6	45.6	42.7	47.2	39.6	33.0
30 - 34 years	42.4	39.2	38.8	37.1	32.5	29.3
35 - 39 years	41.3	40.0	39.6	35.0	32.2	30.7
40 - 44 years	43.4	41.8	44.3	36.1	33.8	32.3
45 - 49 years	45.3	45.1	48.6	37.6	36.0	33.4
50 - 54 years	45.1	45.6	46.8	37.2	35.0	32.7
55 - 59 years	42.3	42.8	42.6	33.0	31.9	29.6
60 - 64 years	32.3	34.2	35.1	24.8	24.8	24.0
65 years and over	8.0	11.3	13.4	5.7	7.5	8.3

women between the ages of 20 and 30, carried out in 1962, led Claude Roux to conclude that the tendency to return to employment was greater in the younger age groups and that there was reason to think it would become more pronounced in the future.

Provisions to facilitate the return to employment

Women requiring information on employment opportunities and on their aptitudes may obtain it from the offices of the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Population or the more recently created services of the National Employment Agency. These services, with the help of vocational advisers who have recently increased in number, can guide them towards suitable occupations. 30% of consultations in 1968 concerned women. Those wishing to take training for which they lack basic educational requirements may follow evening classes which are organised in most parts of France. For training as distinct from basic education, it is the AFPA Centres which undoubtedly provide the main opportunities for training re-entry women who are paid while attending the Centres. Although, legally, training courses are open to both men and women, according to the 1967 AFPA report women followed only 141 types of course out of the 2,033 available. Among these the traditionally feminine occupations were predominant.

In this field, however, an interesting development is taking place. The large and unsatisfied demand for office workers has led to the establishment of courses which are widely used by older women. These include training courses of six months duration in the usual office skills, and a very interesting nine months course for the post of "secrétaire de direction". The purpose of this course, attractive to many older women of good education, is to turn out women able to act as personal assistants to senior executives, with the minimum of routine secretarial duties. One training course is run in Paris on a half-day basis with one group in the morning and a second group in the afternoon. Women of 50 who have remained alert have been able to take this course successfully and the market for those completing it has been almost unlimited. Though the training is on a half-day basis the jobs are full-time. During the course a good deal of informal personal assistance is given by the staff to help the women adapt to the demands and tempo of a paid job. Because a large number of women apply for the course the trainees are carefully selected. The selection procedure includes a medical examination, a psychotechnical test and a written examination, including a comprehension test.

Since 1946 the State has accepted financial responsibility for training and re-training programmes. The cost of the course is paid for and the trainee receives a grant according to her family situation.

State assistance for training and re-training is not limited to courses in publicly owned training establishments. A private college, the Collège des Sciences Sociales et Economiques, which runs a nine months part-time course including evening study for older women, also receives financial support from the Ministry of Labour. These courses, started in 1957, admitted 60 women in 1969. The average age of students was 34, and the courses covered subjects appropriate for women seeking to enter administrative grades of public or private enterprises. They attracted a large number of applicants, almost all of whom completed the course.

Financial support is also given for training carried out on the job. Air France internal language training scheme, for example, is made available to people who do not work for Air France, the course expenses being met by the Ministry. This provision of money for diverse forms of training helps to ease the position of women wanting to get back into employment.

Assessment of Effectiveness

No overall figures exist to establish the results of the money spent in training and re-training older women in France. Those most closely connected with the work maintain, however, that a high percentage of women taking courses stay the pace and take an appropriate job. At the AFPA in Paris those responsible for the courses for Secrétaire de Direction claimed that 80% of the trainees were still working two years after completion of the course.

Some progress is also being made in raising the level of skill and in widening the range of women's jobs. In 1968 out of 1,166 trainees in technicians courses 145 were women, while in 1969, 95 women trainees entered the building and metal working sections. But in absolute terms these numbers are pathetically small and show how little the overall situation has altered. Regardless of technical developments, girls and women are still to an overwhelming extent entering the traditional women's occupations. Unless the rate of change is greatly accelerated the re-entry woman of the future will be ill-equipped for the demands of the future labour market.

ITALY

Legal and Administrative Framework

In Italy responsibility for the recruitment, training and placement of women is part of the general work of the Ministry of Labour and Social Provision, with no special organisation to deal with women's questions. The Training Act of 1949 enables the Ministry to organise or sponsor a wide range of training programmes for both men and women. There are no special powers to deal with the needs of the re-entry woman.

The Labour Market Position for Women

As in other countries there has been a marked decline in the number of women employed in agriculture. This has not, however, been accompanied by a corresponding increase in female employment in industry. A major characteristic of the Italian labour market for women has on the contrary been a steady decline in the employment of women in industry from 1,890,000 in 1961 to 1,579,000 in 1967 - a fall of 16.5%. During the same period the employment of men in industry also declined in 1963, but recovered to a figure slightly above the 1961 total in 1967. Moreover, in contrast with most other industrial countries there has been no marked tendency for older women to re-enter the industrial sector. Industrial employment for women is at its peak in the youngest age group and after the age of 20 there is a sharp decline to the age of 30 - 40 followed by a more gradual but continued decline. The second peak, in the forties and fifties, noticed in a number of other countries, does not occur in Italy. It is also important that increasing unemployment in Italy has affected women more than men. There are several reasons for the decline in the numbers of women in industrial employment but the most significant for this study appears to be the relative increase in skilled as compared with unskilled work and the failure of women to penetrate into skilled categories.

While the number of women employed in agriculture and in industry has been falling in Italy, as in other countries, there has been an increase of women in distribution and service occupations, though the percentage increase even in this sector has been slower than for men. In this sector also there is evidence of a return to work of older women, the employment curve rising to a second peak for women in their mid-fifties. There are virtually no opportunities for part-time employment.

In 1967, in this generally rather unfavourable market situation, there were in fact just over 5,000,000 women in employment out of 26,000,000. Of these 5,000,000, 2,600,000, or 52%, were married. Women comprised in all 27% of the total labour force of the country.

Provisions to Facilitate Re-entry

Under the 1949 Training Act the Ministry of Labour and Social Provision provides training courses, free of charge, both during the day and in the evening, and also on a residential basis. In Milan alone, in the year ended July 1968, 367 courses were run, attended by 7,382 people, covering industry, commerce and agriculture. Courses for women included hosiery, domestic economy, cinema operators, and correspondence clerks. It is noticeable that there has been no breakthrough into occupations in which women have not been traditionally engaged. Contraction in textiles, a main industrial stronghold for women, with no counter-balancing employment and training opportunities elsewhere, is an important example of the situation contributing to the women's unemployment rates at the present time.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that there is little support for special training facilities for older women wishing to return to employment. So far as industry is concerned no such re-entry is in fact taking place. In the tertiary sector, where older women wishing to work do find openings, the position is not thought to call for any special training provisions.

Assessment of Effectiveness

In the present state of industrial and social development in Italy there are few signs that the re-entry of older women into the labour market is regarded as a matter of any significance and no special steps are being taken to assist women who wish to return to work. In Italy during the last few years rationalisation in agriculture has led to a reduction of over a million in the number of women working on the land. This contraction has not been matched by a corresponding increase in openings for women in the growing industrial sector, though there has

been valuable expansion in the service industries and in office work. At the present stage of development, Italy is an interesting example of a country in which technical advance is in some ways accompanied by a deterioration rather than an improvement in women's employment position. There is, however, reason to hope that this situation may prove merely temporary since the importance of these issues is recognized both in official circles and by informed public opinion.

NETHERLANDS

Legal and Administrative Framework

In the Netherlands the responsibility for the recruitment, training and placement of women seeking to re-enter the labour market is part of the work of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health where there are officers with special responsibility for women's questions. At local level the work is handled by the staff of the Regional and Local Labour Offices. In these Labour Offices there are officials who give advice to applicants and facilities are available for vocational guidance interviews with professionally trained vocational guidance officers. There are however no special vocational guidance officers for women.

After the Second World War the Government recognized the need for adult training and re-training programmes to deal with existing unemployment, and later to meet the needs arising from the structural changes in industry resulting from technical developments. As a result vocational training centres for adults were established in many parts of the Netherlands and money was made available to run the centres and to finance appropriate trainees. Money is also forthcoming for in-service training and for training in approved institutions other than vocational training centres for adults.

The Labour Market Position for Women

The most outstanding feature of the labour market situation in the Netherlands, compared with other countries in this study, is the low participation rate of women and in particular of married women. According to a report published in 1967* the participation rate for women

* OECD, Reviews of Manpower and Social Policies - Netherlands, 1967.

aged 15 to 65 was only 27%. Between 1947 and 1960 the participation rate for single women rose from 55% to 58%, but for married women it fell from 10% to 7% reflecting the fall in the number in agriculture, in family farms and in domestic work. During the same period the percentage of married women working outside the home rose from 2% to 4.2%. From these figures it is plain that the re-entry of married women into employment is not a common practice in the Netherlands, nor is there a large scale demand from the women themselves for opportunities at present denied them. Among the small number of married women in employment the participation rate is highest in the lower income groups and it is part-time employment which most married women prefer.

The particular interest of the Netherlands situation is the contrast it provides with other countries. There is however some evidence that the existing pattern is beginning to alter, though the degree of change is still very slight.

The Netherlands Government, aware of the reserve of manpower which could be tapped if women were more effectively used, has provided facilities for women of which at present little advantage is taken. In 1960 the Government took a short step in the direction of encouraging married women to work, or at least of reducing their positive discouragement, by exempting one-third of the wife's earnings from tax, subject to the low ceiling figure of 2,000 florin per year with an addition of 250 florin for expenses. More positively there is no ban on the employment of married women as teachers or civil servants and marriage can no longer be accepted as justifiable grounds for dismissal. In the private sector, on the other hand, a clause can still be included in contracts of employment giving the employer the right to dismiss the employee if she marries. Employees affected by such agreements include teachers in the Netherlands' many private schools. Legislation is however pending to prohibit this practice. The Government also merged the men's and women's sections of the employment offices symbolizing a less discriminatory approach.

Apart from Government action, industry, schools and hospitals have been experimenting with part-time employment for which there appears to be a demand among older women. One large trade union has declared itself in favour of women continuing to work as a matter of economic necessity. All these developments can be regarded as preliminary steps in the creation of a more positive labour market for the older woman.

In a situation in which there is so little immediate evidence of a demand by married women for opportunities for employment, a study based on 943 completed interviews carried out by the Institute for

Psychological Market Research and Motivation Research in 1964 is of special interest. The researchers found that about 21% of the potential labour force was already working: one-third of them in domestic jobs and comparatively few (8%) in industry. The inclination to work was strongest among the younger women who were continuing in employment after marriage, but was also evident in older women who had resumed work when their children had reached a certain age. In the large potential labour force not in employment, attitudes towards work were more favourable among the well-to-do and better trained. The researchers also found that nearly two-thirds of the 266 non-working women able and willing to take employment outside the home were only prepared to consider work on a part-time basis. This may well be associated with the continuing existence of a sense of guilt among some of the women interviewed who remained strongly influenced by the view that women should be at home and could not satisfactorily both work and look after the family.

Provisions to Facilitate Re-entry

The Centres of Vocational Training for Adults (the Government's most substantial contribution to re-training) are open equally to men and women. Training is free and compensation is paid for loss of earnings and for the cost of travel above a minimum distance. There is no difference between the earnings of men and of women in the Centres.

Training in the centres is, however, almost entirely devoted to trades traditionally performed by men and this no doubt is the main, although not the sole, reason why very few women indeed take advantage of these opportunities. One outstanding woman welder in the shipyards can only be regarded as a magnificent exception although it is interesting that she appeared to be completely accepted by both superiors and fellow workers once they got used to her. "They kept coming up to have a good look to see if I really was a woman", she commented. This woman was no self-conscious pioneer. She had chosen this particular trade for the highly practical reasons that the pay was relatively good and she was allowed to work reduced hours which fitted her domestic circumstances.

Government assistance is not, however, limited to the provision of training in the centres. To encourage in-service training, grants are paid to employers to provide compensation for the cost of wages paid to learners before they become productive. In 1967 in-service training grants were made on behalf of only 22 women in the traditional women's trades of knitwear and clothing. While scarcely a breakthrough, this could well be a potential source for a much larger flow of trainees.

By a further Government measure to assist training, grants are made to women wishing to take an approved training course provided the candidate passes the necessary tests. In 1967, 381 people received such grants: 59 of them women. Twenty-six of the women were trained for office work, 10 for social work and 23 for a variety of other occupations including dieticians and hairdressers. Courses are only approved if there is thought to be a reasonable chance of the trainee obtaining a job at the end of the course and if the training is carried out by a responsible body prepared to conform to the regulations of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

In the present stage of development in the Netherlands the following individual examples of schemes involving older women are of more than ordinary interest.

1. Nurses at the Free University Hospital, Amsterdam

In 1965 the Matron of the Free University Hospital, Amsterdam, introduced a scheme for six married nurses to return to hospital on a part-time basis, working initially for 20 hours a week with no night duty or week-end work. The purpose was not so much to increase the total number of nurses as to make use of the high quality professional skill of the older nurse. Only fully trained and experienced women were engaged at the start and this has continued to be the standard required.

At the beginning there was some resistance from full-time nurses and some doubts among the medical staff. It emerged that the major objection was the part-time nurses' exemption from the unpopular week-end duty. Consultation between the matron and the part-time nurses and their husbands led to an agreement that week-end duty was part of a nurse's task ("I should expect to be nursed at the week-end if I were ill", said one husband) and the part-timers agreed to do one week-end duty a month. From that point the scheme has progressed satisfactorily. In 1968, out of a total nursing staff of 250, there were in the hospital 58 married women nurses, almost all with children, including 4 in the 51-65 age group who worked 16 hours a week.

When the married nurses return to hospital they are given a week's induction together with other newcomers, followed by instruction on the wards to bring them up-to-date. Their absence rate is reported to be very low, coming mainly in the school holidays when medical and other students stand in to assist if not quite, perhaps, to take their places. The turnover rate, the other traditional bug-bear for employers of married women, is also within reasonable limits. In the two years 1966-68, 30 of these nurses left: 14 for pregnancy; 5 to move to

another district; 3 of the older women from exhaustion; and 8 for other reasons.

The advantages to the hospital of this scheme have been the economy of employing part-time workers for peak periods, the quality of work of these experienced nurses whose skills would otherwise be lost to the profession and the good relations they are able to establish with the young unmarried nurses in training.

2. IBM Amsterdam

IBM, Amsterdam, employs 1,400 people including 119 women of whom 55 are married. The women are recruited by advertisement and on an open house system. Open house recruiting consists of opening the Works twice a week from 7.30 p. m. to 10.00 p. m. Women who are interested in what they see in the Works and wish to apply are given an application form and are subsequently tested. For those selected there is a 3-4 day induction programme after which training, if needed, is carried out in the training section although some women can immediately start to work in the production departments. There is a seven day training course with an instructor, a key man, to look after 15 to 20 trainees. Most women receive the same pay as men and there are no concessions to married women's desire for part-time work unless after three years of satisfactory employment a woman has a strong case for reduced hours. There are no women in management or supervisory ranks in the Amsterdam Works, and the women are graded as semi-skilled. The level of pay, however, is high by comparison with other companies in the area. It is interesting that in this situation of high pay and conditions comparable with men the Company is able to reject three out of four of the women who apply. The married women's absence rate is 7% and the turnover rate is only 13%. It is rarely necessary to give special holiday leave. This seems to be a case in which job and financial opportunities have been seen by women to be good enough for them to make the necessary domestic adjustments.

3. Philips Telecommunicatie, The Hague

Philips Telecommunicatie, the Hague, employs 1,111 people of whom 273 are women, 241 of them manual workers employed on switch-board assembly work. There are a small number of white collar workers, very few of them married, and only one woman, the Assistant Personnel Manager, in a management position. On the other hand many of the women manual workers are married and the median age of these older women is 35-40. Normal hours are 7.30 a. m. to 4.45 p. m. but most of the married women are part-time workers, part-time being defined as less than 43 hours per week. These part-time workers

must do 29 hours per week but can choose their hours. The majority work from 9 a. m. to 3 p. m. but if they prefer they can do one full day a week and shorter hours on other days. They can alter the hours after two months employment and are free to re-arrange working hours among themselves.

Women for this work are carefully selected. Only about 50% of applicants are offered jobs after interview procedures and medical examinations have been completed. The training period lasts eight weeks and 84% succeed in reaching the standard set. It is reckoned to take in all 26 weeks for a woman's output to reach full production standard. For a 29 hour week the women in this grade average 511* florin per month gross and 280 florin net after tax, plus 6% holiday money and 6% share of profits. Turnover rates are not calculated separately for men and women but the rate for all employees, male and female, dropped from 30% in 1965 to 14% in 1966 and 13% in 1967. The drop was attributed to the greater difficulty in getting jobs in the last two periods. While the married woman's absence rate is about 12.5% compared to the men's absence rate of 6.5%, the rate for all women, both married and single is 10.6%.

When married women first came to the Company they said they wanted to work only until they had earned enough to achieve some specific objective. When this had been done, however, many continued to stay on indefinitely, no doubt for a variety of different reasons.

4. Bijenkorf Departmental Stores, The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam

This organisation employs in its three stores 3,000 people of whom 2,000 are women, both married and single. There are a considerable number of women in middle management and some, exceptionally, higher still. At the Hague store there are 314 men and 582 women. For 12 years, including the years of the Second World War, there was a woman Managing Director at the Hague, and the present Sales Promotion Manager is a woman. Among departmental managers and jobs of comparable level, out of 213 positions 104 are held by women, 21 of them married. Some of these married women reached this level before making the break to have a family but others were promoted to more senior positions after they had returned and had worked for a period of time. It is thought that earlier selling experience is a great asset but not all of the re-entry women who have been promoted have had store experience as single girls. Married women are an important element in the

* 1968 figures.

Bijenkorf's full-time staff at all levels. In all three branches of the Company the full-time female selling staff numbers 875, of which 134 are married, with an additional 341 female administrative staff, of whom 60 are married.

In addition to full-time workers it has been found convenient for the Company as well as convenient for the women to employ a large number of part-time workers. Labour costs represent 70% of total costs and selling costs alone are approximately 45% of total costs. In 1964, the Company, seeking to reduce labour costs, made a detailed study of the flow of work from which they estimated the optimum number of full-time employees and the number of part-timers needed to meet the demands of the busiest times of the day, of the week, and of the year. As a result, the percentage of part-time employees, which was only 20% in 1960, increased to 25% in 1964 and 32% in 1968. Sixty-five per cent of all part-time workers are married. Training is very short and it is reckoned that at the end of a couple of days in most departments a woman is earning her money.

Assessment of Effectiveness

In 1968 the scale of re-training at national level was still so small that no assessment of effectiveness is possible. The individual cases quoted, however, illustrate the ways in which, despite the strong traditional pressures on married women to remain in their own homes, some are in fact finding employment to their own and their employer's mutual advantage. The four cases quoted bring out different points of interest and importance. The hospital example illustrates the way in which highly trained professional married women can be drawn back into part-time employment on terms that prove mutually satisfactory once initial objections from full-time workers are faced and a reasonable compromise arranged. IBM is interesting in that the Company makes no concessions to married women but by careful selection and apparently attractive pay and conditions of employment are able to recruit and retain older married women on terms which make them virtually indistinguishable from any other group of employees. In contrast, Philips Telecommunicatie have gone out of their way to provide flexible conditions for the married women, and the maximum freedom of choice in the conditions of work. In spite of the long period before the woman can be expected to reach full competence this scheme, especially tailored to the women's requirements, has proved satisfactory for all concerned. In Bijenkorf there is yet another variation. This represents the type of scheme, which obviously has a great deal to recommend it, in which the special requirements of the women led to a pattern of employment more, not less, economic from the point of view of an employer faced with heavy labour costs and an uneven flow of work.

SWEDEN

Legal and Administrative Framework

The recruitment, training and placement of women seeking to re-enter the labour market in Sweden is part of the general responsibility of the National Labour Market Board working under the Ministry of Labour and Housing. It is a cardinal element of Sweden's labour market policy that men and women are treated on a basis of complete equality. This policy is in its turn an expression of the overall national policy to eliminate discrimination. Indeed, the Swedish approach to the employment and re-employment of women is only to be understood if it is seen within the framework of a general policy affecting not only work but also home life and education - a policy which raises profound psychological and sociological issues.

In pursuance of this policy, in 1961 the National Labour Market Board embarked on a special "activation programme" for female labour. As part of this programme, revised in 1966, a special officer to deal with women's questions was appointed by the National Labour Market Board and "activation inspectors" were appointed at twenty out of the twenty-four regional head offices "to co-ordinate activation work for non-employed women and middle-aged and elderly labour". *

The Labour Market Board provides vocational guidance, very extensive training and re-training programmes, and placement services for both men and women. These training programmes may be run directly by the Labour Market Board in co-operation with the National Board of Education in special centres, or the Labour Market Board may buy training places in public or private training establishments and in industry. The training is meant for persons over 21, (from July

* Report to the United Nations on the Status of Women in Sweden, 1968.

1, 1970 over 20) who are unemployed or are in danger of becoming unemployed as well as for housewives wanting to re-enter the labour market. The courses are free and grants are made to trainees, not only for their own maintenance, but also for their families. Grants must not add up to more than the worker would in fact earn in the job for which he or she is training. For a married man or woman the grant is reduced in proportion to the income of the wife or husband. However, half of the basic allowance (from July 1, 1970 Sw. Kr. 575) is always paid. In addition to training programmes, which can last the full length of a long professional training, there are refresher courses for those who already have professional training but who, after a period at home, need to bring their knowledge up to date and to restore their self-confidence sufficiently to dare to take a job. Such a course, for example, for social workers, lasts about three months. For those without training who do not know what kind of work would suit them, there are special courses giving information on different occupations and helping the participants to determine their individual potentialities.

The Labour Market Position for Women

As in all other countries there are in Sweden two clearly defined, if overlapping, labour markets, one for men and one for women. According to the 1965 Census 74.3% of the women employed were concentrated in no more than twenty-five occupations containing a mere 13.6% of the male labour force. In 1968 no less than 47% of all women and 44.3% of the married women were employed in public administration and accounted for 67% of all public administration employees. In the salary grades covering most of the top public service jobs there were 5,908 men but only 161 women. In the main public service job categories 89.8% of the women were in the bottom half of the salary grades compared with 63.3% of the men. Outside the public service 21.5% of all employed women (22.2% of married women) work in mining and manufacturing industry and almost all of the remainder are to be found in retail trade, banking and insurance, domestic work, hotels and restaurants. Women in industry are strongly concentrated in textiles, clothing and the food industries, but between 1960 and 1965 they increased their percentage participation in all other industries except leather and rubber. Since Sweden signed the ILO Convention 100 on equal pay for work of equal value in 1962, the differential between men's and women's average earnings has narrowed significantly, but there has been no corresponding tendency for women to move into higher paid posts. As in public administration, so in the private sector women in mining and manufacturing are heavily concentrated in lower level jobs. In 1966 women, who comprised 31.6% of all personnel in mining and manufacturing, held under 5% of the jobs in each of the following categories:

Technical personnel in management, excluding top executives:	0.3%
Technical personnel in responsible posts:	1.6%
Other technical personnel, excluding technical assistants:	3.4%
Head foremen:	0.7%
Foremen:	2.6%
Clerical personnel in management, excluding top executives:	1.1%
Sales representatives:	1.0%

On the other hand, they held over 25% of the posts classified as:

Technical assistants:	28.4%
Other clerical personnel, excluding assistant salaried employees:	36.8%
Assistant salaried personnel:	68.0%
Other sales personnel:	52.1%

On these figures there is little evidence of any change in the types of employment for which there is a demand for women.

What is changing is the extent to which women are entering the labour market, albeit in the traditional jobs and at the traditional level. In 1967 out of a total Swedish labour force of 4,217,000 (including all those working at least one week of the year), 1,699,300 or 40% were women. No less than 56% of the total female population between the ages of 14 and 74 were gainfully employed though only 60.4% of them worked throughout the year. The changes between 1960 and 1965 were marked. The overall participation rate for women working at least half a normal working day rose from 25.4% to 28.2% while for married women alone the increase was from 22.5% to 29.2%. In the age groups 40 to 44 and 45 to 59 the married women's rate rose from 27.6% to 38.9% and 26.9% to 38.3% respectively. Of all the women in employment, no less than 36% of the women employed in 1967 had part-time employment, part-time work being work of less than 35 hours a week. No less than 37.4% of women with children aged 7 to 16, of whom 67.9% were in employment, were in part-time posts. It is part of the labour market policy programme to secure more part-time jobs to meet the large demand from women for this kind of opening.

Provision to facilitate the re-entry of women into employment

As has been shown, special attention is being given by the Labour Market Board to problems of women's employment. These provisions can, however, only be understood if seen as part of the much wider social policy of non-discrimination. It is in the consistency and comprehensiveness of the Swedish proposals that their peculiar interest

lies. In Sweden women are not being brought back into the labour market to meet a sudden emergency, nor to deal with specific shortages, nor to help the country economically by mobilizing its resources of manpower and womanpower as effectively as possible. No doubt all these considerations influence the effort being put into the programme and the direction it is taking. Indeed, it is part of the task of the Labour Market Board both at national and regional level to attempt to gear training provisions to manpower forecasts - a task which they would not claim they had completely mastered.

But behind these specific purposes stands the belief that a woman, like a man, has a right to the opportunities and experiences that come from a freely chosen job, properly related to abilities and interests. It is seen that the traditional view of a woman's family responsibilities is the biggest obstacle hindering women's achievements in work. So, it is argued, these responsibilities must be re-shaped and shared by both the husband and the community in a way which will free the woman to pursue her career to any level of which she is capable. It is realized that such an approach assumes fundamental changes in family life, in the roles of men and women, and in state assistance for the care of children. Yet it is held that nothing less than these changes in attitude is required if women are to be freed to work according to their capacities and desires. In this programme of emancipation, for it is no less, the position of the re-entry woman is of cardinal importance. Though among many better-educated younger women an increasing number are making no break but are continuing to work full-time or part-time while their children are young, for very many women the hope of a successful working career turns on the effectiveness of the re-entry procedures.

It also turns, as has been shown from the examination of the existing labour market situation, on the creation of new opportunities for women and on the merging of the men's and women's separate labour markets into one common labour market with no barriers based on sex to bar the advance to promotion.

With this as the avowed aim, the Swedish Government has proceeded to remove the obstacles hindering the creation of a common labour market. The principle of equal pay for work of equal value has been accepted. It has not been fully implemented but is by stages coming into being. The prohibition on night work, an excuse as well as a reason for the exclusion of women from a number of jobs, has been changed to a prohibition of night work for all workers, male or female, except where special permission is granted. When granted, night work is permitted for women as well as for men. On the domestic front increasing facilities for child care are being provided, though these, it is widely claimed, are still inadequate. The idea is being seriously discussed of part-time work for fathers, to enable them to share the

responsibilities of the family. The obstacles to re-entry having been diminished, the opportunities in the labour market have then to be explained and put within reach of the woman who seeks them. Under the aegis of the Labour Market Board much is being done.

1. Vocational guidance

The Swedish Labour Market Board places great emphasis on the importance of adequate vocational guidance for people starting or re-entering employment. When the policy of encouraging women to return to work was accepted, it was realized that special steps needed to be taken to provide the information and to create the attitudes required if women were to be successfully re-established in work. On the initiative of the Labour Market Board a committee was formed consisting of representatives of the main trade unions, the employers and the Labour Market Board to put out information. The committee believed that if the wife and mother was to return to work and to remain satisfactorily at work, not only the woman herself, but also her husband and children needed to understand and accept the opportunities and adjustments which such a change entailed. The information campaign was, therefore, designed to interest the whole family, not merely the woman.

In 1966, a scheme for spreading information on opportunities for women was launched at a national conference by the Chief Officers of the Unions and the Employers' Association and the Director of the National Labour Market Board. 700 people attended. This national conference was followed by regional conferences organised on similar lines. Summarizing this special campaign the Labour Market Board said in its reports: "One of the measures taken to interest women in a wider choice of occupations and to make them realize the need for longer and more qualified training was to repeat the radio series 'Hemmafru byter yrke' (The Housewife Changes her Occupation). In connection with these broadcasts comprehensive information on labour market and social matters was given at conferences arranged by the county labour boards in which women's organisations, educational associations, employer and employee organisations and public authorities participated. Study circles based on the radio series were organised in most counties under the auspices of various educational associations".

Following this initiative the Labour Market Board has organised special vocational guidance courses of a different kind lasting four or six weeks. These were originally for women only but, in line with the policy of eliminating schemes based on sex differences, they are all now open to both men and women. The purpose of the courses is to explain job opportunities as fully as possible, to answer applicants'

questions and to discuss their difficulties. Placement officers and in special cases a psychologist or medical staff assist in analysing the trainees potential for training and work. Testing facilities are available.

In addition, any man or woman applying to the local labour exchange can get the help of an employment service officer in trying to find a suitable job. If necessary the applicant is referred for professional vocational guidance which may include testing. The results of the guidance work will then be reported to the placement officer who again discusses job opportunities with the woman in the light of the report. If, as may well happen, the report shows that the woman has latent talent of which she herself may be unaware, training possibilities including training which may be preceded by a university course are examined. If the woman is accepted as suitable for training, finance to support the whole programme is forthcoming, subject to certain minimum conditions.

2. Training facilities

In Sweden, adult training and re-training organised by the Labour Market Board is one of the main pivots of economic planning. It is recognized that technical advance, whereby some jobs disappear and new opportunities emerge, will only be accepted if men and women feel that they will not individually suffer as a result of these changes. To meet this problem the Labour Market Board training schemes offering very wide opportunities for learning new skills and professions are made available with grants on a scale which gives a certain basic economic security to the trainee.

The Labour Market Board training programme is influenced by manpower forecasts of labour demand. The training or re-training may be carried out at centres in which courses prescribed by the Labour Market Board are run by the educational authority, or the Board may buy training places or a whole course in a school or college either publicly or privately owned or in industry or commerce. In Stockholm alone, no less than 178 institutions are available for use by the Labour Market Board. Housewives returning to work are one of the categories for whom Labour Market training schemes are available. Labour Market training courses do not normally last for more than 96 weeks and there are a number of shorter courses. Some of the courses are residential. A woman taking training receives the same grant as a man, adjusted according to rent and family responsibilities. The grant must not exceed the amount she would earn on the job. A supplementary allowance for children is paid to contribute towards the cost of their supervision while the mother is training. Deductions are made if the husband has a high income, but the wife is, in any case, left with

sufficient money for the family to be in no way at a financial disadvantage because she is training.

In terms of the numbers of women taking advantage of the Labour Market training the response to the efforts of the Board appears to have been considerable. In 1960, 18% of the Labour Market Board trainees were women, numbering 17,800 in all. By 1968, the comparable figures were 37% and 36,000 out of a total of 97,000. Even more important from the point of view of the re-entry woman, in the first half of 1969 no less than 42% of all trainees aged 45 or over were women.

It is claimed moreover by the Labour Market Board that some older women have tackled non-traditional occupations, making less conventional choices than girl school leavers.

Much training and re-training is provided in traditional women's work in the office. A 20 weeks basic course in office skills attracts many older women. The course is designed to enable women to get a job at the end of the prescribed time, but also to provide a foundation for more advanced courses. A 40 weeks course for correspondence clerks, including two foreign languages as well as Swedish and shorthand and typing, is also provided for the more ambitious.

A number of shorter courses are also available. 10 weeks has proved sufficient for the experienced office worker returning to employment to brush up her skills. 14 weeks is the time taken to train a punch card operator. Switchboard operators, who are also taught some typing, are trained in 18 weeks.

For some older women who may not have the requisite qualifications to pass through a complete course in office skills, there is a course in typewriting run on a part-time basis equipping them for the simpler office jobs only. The course takes 200 to 250 hours and is planned for 2.5 hours a day for six days a week. The demand for this programme is considerable, though it is one of the least ambitious of the available choices.

With so comprehensive a programme, attempting an advance on so wide a front, it is not easy to distinguish between the many developments of considerable interest. The following examples illustrate the range of training and job opportunities which are opening up for women in Sweden, in part no doubt in response to the overall policy which has been described.

Training for New Openings in Industry

Labour Market training in a wide range of technical jobs is open to men and women alike. The Labour Market Board reports, however, that although there has been some breakthrough into less conventional jobs, the number of girls and women who come forward for technical training for jobs not traditionally held by women is still small. In part no doubt this is because an office job offers hours of employment which fit in better with a housewife's domestic obligations - and these do still exist - and in part because opportunities for promotion for women in industry are still very limited. There are, however, signs of change in the industrial field, as the following examples suggest:

- i) Atlas Copco, Stockholm: manufacturers of rock drills and equipment for wagon drills for mining.

This company carried out a survey of all the jobs in the company and decided that between 70% and 80% of them were suitable for older women. No age limit is applied for recruitment and training is given by the company. Some jobs require almost no training, some up to two months, and for the types of more skilled work on which a considerable number of women are employed it takes about three years to reach full proficiency. No woman has yet reached a leading position, but the range of jobs in which they are employed has expanded. All the women are members of the union, few work part-time and the vast majority are on piece-work. While it would not be true to say that there is no difference in this company in the position of men and women, a considerable step towards an integrated policy has been taken. These changes have all been made with the full support of the trade union.

- ii) ASEA, Västerås: manufacturers of equipment for power generation and transmission and electric motors and appliances.

The manufacturing side of the business employs rather more than 5,000 workers of whom 980 are women. In 1960, at the suggestion of the Labour Market Board, the company experimented with employing older women on a half-day basis. 22 women aged 25 - 40 were selected after being tested and interviewed. They were given a short induction course, followed by six weeks intensive training on the job and some additional theoretical instruction to fit them for rather advanced machine operations. All 22 women completed the course and six years later all 22 were still working for the company. By that time, however, a considerable number of them had at their own request transferred from part-time to full-time work.

It is clear that in this company considerable progress is being made towards a common labour market for men and women, with the same opportunities and same rewards for the same work and conditions of employment. In 1966 single base rates for wages were established, eliminating the separate and lower rate for women. The foundry, the melting furnaces and the tool room are the only areas in which women are not employed. There is no objection to women in the tool room but none have so far qualified for the work.

The company runs extensive training programmes, including leave of absence for study. Women tend to take the shorter rather than the longer courses but a small number of them have qualified as supervisors and engineers and have been promoted. A small number too are in training for highly skilled jobs such as pattern makers and electricians. Draughtswomen have almost replaced draughtsmen.

Part-time work continues for women who prefer it. Since it involves under-utilization of plant and factory space, it is acceptable to the company only because labour is difficult to get and because social security payments are related to the level of earnings and hours of work. An official of the company commented that a "partnership scheme" where two or more women undertake between them to staff a job continuously would eliminate the main objection to part-time working. Such a scheme was in existence but few women took part in it.

These changes have all been made with the full support of the trade union.

iii) Volvo, Göteborg: motor manufacturers.

Volvo has always employed women on upholstery. In 1961-1962, because of shortage of labour the company began to take women on the line. They were given one day's induction course and then went to the training sections in the departments. A group piece-work system is in operation and on average the women took one or two weeks to get up to bonus standard. It was estimated that they took one day longer than men required to reach the same standard.

The introduction of women on to the line was a major change but, despite some initial resistance, the scheme was introduced with union support and with relatively little difficulty. A slow start was made and the men's initial objections were gradually overcome. The women appear to be proving somewhat less flexible than the men and are not considered suitable for all jobs, but some women do the dirty jobs under the chassis where, in some cases, they can earn 13-14 Swedish crowns

an hour - a comparatively high rate within industry. It is interesting that this company reports that while the women's absence and accident rates are higher than the men's, their wastage rates are actually lower. It may be that even in Sweden women's jobs at this level of pay are not to be had for the asking. Part-time work is available. One manager commented that he found part-timers "more reliable" and there is no trade union objection to employment on a part-time basis.

As elsewhere, women do not tend to be promoted to the more responsible jobs but it is estimated that about 10% of middle management posts in engineering, laboratories, sales, purchasing and personnel are held by women.

- iv) Svenska Salpeterverken, Koping: manufacturers of chemical products, process industry.

In 1964, this company recruited on a half-time basis 32 carefully selected women with an average age of 37, the oldest being 50. They were looking for women capable of understanding the whole process, and preferred older women whom they considered would be "more responsible".

The women had a rather better than average education. 31 survived the training period and started work. Four years later 16 were still in employment. Although they began as part-time workers the women, at their own request, transferred to full-time. It was, however, full-time with a difference. Svenska Salpeterverken is a continuous process plant working a shift system which gives the women three shifts of eight hours followed by four days at home, making an average working week of only 28 hours. They are able to work in this way because they are now free to work night shift and this has been accepted with little difficulty. The women are paid the same rate as the men and are employed on process work. Two women are control room operators, receiving a training which is also the basic training for supervisors, though no women so far have been appointed as supervisors. A fully qualified woman chemical engineer, a single woman, is responsible for control and development in the plant. The women's absence rate is higher than the men's but the wastage rate, at 14% is lower.

Developments of interest to older re-entry women are not limited to industry. Two further examples illustrate changes in the non-industrial field.

- v) PUB: a co-operative departmental store in Stockholm, recruits many older women, whom they consider more reliable than younger girls.

They prefer women with previous selling experience but do not always require it. General training lasts a day, after which the new starter is trained on the job by the head of the department. After a month's employment a further formal course is given lasting 25 hours. The amount of further training needed varies according to the department.

Of particular interest is a special programme carried out in co-operation between the enterprise and the county labour board. The programme started in the early 1960's to recruit women aged 50 to 55 for part-time work. 25 are recruited each year and are given a three months course. Very few fail to complete the course and labour turnover has been low. Very few of these women have had previous selling experience but, as was pointed out, "they have done a lot of buying". Many of them have not been in employment for ten to fifteen years.

The store recruited these women on a part-time basis because they found it very economical to use part-timers for peak periods. The women work from 11 a. m. to 2 p. m. each day, all day on Saturday from 9.05 a. m. to 4.05 p. m. and do extra work in an emergency.

Other part-timers schemes, e. g. two full days a week, are also in operation and part-time work is common in the offices.

In PUB, as in other retail stores, women are frequently promoted to middle management level.

30% of departmental heads are women, most of them married. Not many of these departmental heads, however, have many children, nor have their careers involved long periods at home. Women tend not to take advantage of the many internal training schemes which help staff to fit themselves for promotion.

- vi) Post Office, Göteborg.

In 1962, the shortage of postmen led the Post Office authorities to experiment with the employment of postwomen. At Göteborg, 45 women were engaged, mostly in the 35 to 40 age group, though one who was still on the rounds five years later was recruited at the age of 60. There are, in fact, no age limits for recruitment. Women work at night sorting mail and are widely employed on delivery. The postmen were at first convinced that the women could not cope with the job and

would only do the easier parts of the work, but they have, in the event, successfully carried the whole of the job and their absence rate is, in fact, lower than the men's. The only adjustments made for the women have been the designing of a special push cart and the creation of smaller delivery districts.

The selection process for the postwomen consists of an interview, a small practical test and a medical examination. They are given four days training at the Central Post Office, work for a period with an established postman, and then take on their own district. Six women have been appointed foremen.

The job seems to be popular with older women. They have a good deal of freedom, can go home when they have finished their deliveries, appear to co-operate very well with the male foremen, and are reported to be well liked by the customers. Moreover, it is an opening for older women who live in the suburbs, where there is a shortage of other work with similar advantages. The pay is the same as for men.

Assessment of Effectiveness

The Swedish programme is far more ambitious than in any other country in that it is part of a much wider enterprise involving far reaching changes in attitudes and social habits. It is of special interest in that the Swedes are accepting the full logical implications of a common labour market for men and women, with common opportunities and common obligations. The success of the Swedish scheme is not to be judged only in terms of the participation rate of women in the labour market, or even of the level and range of jobs they hold down, but also by the extent to which an alteration in attitudes is taking place.

There can be no doubt that the strenuous efforts to raise the level of women's work and to increase the numbers of married and older women entering the labour market are bearing fruit.

Where deliberate attempts have been made to abandon established conventions, as at ASEA and Svenska Salpeterwerken women are coping well with an enlarged range of jobs and with the chance to work on shifts, including night shifts, alongside their male colleagues. The advanced age at which women can be trained for new work is being demonstrated by the women over fifty successfully trained in the Stockholm Co-operative Store and the Göteborg Post Office. The high stability rates in many of the higher level jobs are undermining the old belief that married women are a poor investment and are reinforcing the suggestion that many of the characteristics conventionally attributed to women workers are perhaps more a function of their grade than of their sex.

For women as well as for men, it seems, it may well be that the better the job, the more worthwhile it is to keep it. Much undoubtedly has been achieved. But attitudes are not altered overnight and there is also a good deal of evidence that traditional behaviour continues alongside drastic changes. Very many women will choose short rather than long courses despite determined official encouragement to seize new opportunities. The extent to which women still choose the conventional women's jobs remains marked among the girl school leavers even more than among the re-entry women. Equal pay for work of equal value is the policy, and practice is moving in that direction but the policy is not yet fully implemented. Official union support for new opportunities for women has been freely given but it is admitted that the rank and file member has not always fully backed his leader's initiative. An interesting follow-up study of women trainees by the National Institute of Vocational Health found the older women were anxious to get a training, and were planning to remain in employment for a long period of time. It also found among the older women a considerable lack of self-confidence, pessimism with regard to jobs and a good deal of old-fashioned worrying about the family at home. Perhaps all this means is that the Swedes have consciously taken on a more ambitious programme than has been launched in other countries. Marked progress has already been made. Given the scale of the enterprise, it is inevitable that doubts and uncertainties remain.

UNITED KINGDOM

Legal and Administrative Framework

The recruitment, training and placement of women seeking re-entry into the labour market in the United Kingdom is part of the responsibility of the Department of Employment and Productivity, formerly the Ministry of Labour. In Northern Ireland the work is undertaken by the Ministry of Health and Social Security. There is no special section dealing with women, who are free to use all the general services of the Department. These include information regarding jobs and placement services available at employment exchanges throughout the country. There is a separate Professional and Executive Register for higher level jobs and a small number of newly designed offices for commercial employment. There is a special central office for employment in the hotel and catering trade. At the headquarters of the Department responsibility for women's employment is shared by two sections covering a) policy, and b) employment services.

Under the Employment and Training Act of 1948, the Department is empowered to run Government Training Centres and also, in certain circumstances, to provide vocational training courses outside these centres. Grants are paid to trainees, both men and women, attending these courses. The main training activity in the country, however, is provided under the Industrial Training Act of 1964, under which Industrial Training Boards for individual industries have been set up. These Boards are made up of employers, trade unionists and educationalists, and the Department of Employment and Productivity is responsible for the implementation of the Act.

The Labour Market Position of Women

In June, 1968, the working population of the United Kingdom was made up of 16,679,000 males and 9,146,000 females, making a total

of 25,825,000. Females, therefore, constituted 35% of the total labour force. The overall employee activity rate for females aged 15 and over was 40% in 1968, excluding the self-employed. Approximately 40% of all females in civil employment were in the service industries, about 30% were in manufacturing industry and just over 20% were in commerce, mainly in the wholesale and retail trades. Of all girl school leavers about 40% go into clerical work. The number of women in office employment has risen by 1.5 million between 1921 and 1961. Women and girls are heavily concentrated in lower level jobs. Of all women in employment, approximately 75% are in jobs which take less than six months to learn. Outside the traditional women's professions of teaching, nursing and social work, there is little demand for women's services in professional occupations apart from medicine where 17,000 out of 69,000 registered medical practitioners are women. In the legal profession, under 5% of the total personnel are women. In industry, women are conspicuous by their absence in the managerial grades and in higher technical and scientific work. Under 2% of draughtsmen are women and in the category "other technicians" there are only 7%. Although the difference between the basic rates for men and women has narrowed since the Second World War, the average earnings of full-time women workers in industry are approximately half the average earnings of men, though allowance must be made for the somewhat shorter hours worked by women. In October, 1968 women manual workers averaged £ 11.6s. 3d. for a 38.2 hour week compared with £ 23.12s. 4d. for a 45.8 hour week for male manual workers. In non-manual (administrative, technical and clerical) occupations, a similar differential exists. The median of the full-week earnings in September 1968 of full-time non-manual women workers in manufacturing industry was £ 12.18s. whilst for full-time non-manual men it was £ 28.0s. The corresponding figures for all industries and services were £ 14.2s. for full-time non-manual women and £ 27.16s. for full-time non-manual men*.

From these figures, it is clear that in the United Kingdom the labour markets for men and women are still almost entirely separate. The ILO Convention 100 has not been ratified and the women's level of earnings reflects the traditional women's rates, their limited labour market opportunities and their almost total exclusion from shift and continuous working arrangements which involves high premium payments. In 1970, the Equal Pay (No. 2) Act was passed. The extent to which this will in fact affect women's earnings will depend in part on the interpretation of the Act and cannot therefore at present be forecast. Despite the generally unfavourable labour market for women, their position is in some ways stronger than might be expected. The surplus of men over women in the younger age groups, combined with a tendency

* Employment and Productivity Gazette, February and June, 1969 (HMSO).

among girls to stay on longer at school and to marry earlier, is creating a situation in which the main work done by women will in future be done by married women. As in other countries, smaller families and the younger age at which child-bearing ceases are releasing married women for employment.

In 1968, they constituted nearly 58% of the total female labour force and the proportion is growing. The National Plan of 1965 saw in married women one of the few remaining reserves of labour in the country. In many areas the shortage of female labour has forced employers to introduce part-time schemes and these openings are eagerly sought by many married women. To a large extent, however, the great majority of married women have been prepared to accept jobs requiring little or no training and skill, with low pay and poor opportunities. This was clearly illustrated by the Women's Employment Survey carried out by the Central Office of Information in 1965 among 10,000 women, over half of whom were earning less than 5/- an hour. Despite this low figure, the survey showed that "the biggest attraction for married women going out to work was financial", though there were other associated advantages including a wish for company and a wish to escape boredom. Short and easy travel to work and pleasant working conditions were factors most often named as attractions to the job. The use of qualifications and skills was important only among the highly educated*.

A study carried out among graduate wives showed that although no less than 60% of them were in employment, in many cases the work they had been able to obtain was below the level of which they were capable and which, given the opportunity, they would have chosen**.

Such difficulties in finding appropriate work emphasize the importance for the married woman of keeping in touch with the job for which she has been trained, and to which she ultimately hopes to return. In 1970 an interesting and promising scheme was started by the Institute of Personnel Management which opened a special register for former personnel managers prepared to accept special assignments for a limited period of time. This type of appointment is proving popular with employers, as it enables them to undertake special projects or to overcome emergencies without a permanent increase in staff. While lack of mobility prevents many married women from applying for such vacancies the scheme is providing a very valuable opportunity for some women to keep abreast of new developments in their own profession without committing themselves to the responsibilities of a permanent job.

* Audrey Hunt, A Survey of Women's Employment. Government Social Survey, 1965 (HMSO).

** Graduate Women at Work, ed. Constance E. Arreger, British Federation of University Women (Oriel Press Ltd.), 1966.

Provisions to Facilitate the Re-entry of Women into Employment

There are no special provisions to assist women seeking to re-enter the labour market and all the facilities available to men seeking employment and training are equally open to women. These include:

1. Vocational Guidance: Information with regard to jobs is available at the Employment Exchanges of the Department of Employment and Productivity. There are, in addition, special occupational guidance units in twenty-four of the Department's centres throughout the country, staffed by professionally trained vocational guidance specialists.

2. Training: Under the Employment and Training Act of 1948, the Department of Employment and Productivity runs a number of Government Training Centres in which training is provided free of charge and where trainees receive training allowances. Courses are open to women, but as the Centres train almost entirely for what are regarded as customary men's trades, very few women have, in fact, received training in them. It is not that they are excluded. In the existing climate of opinion very few girls or women would consider taking such a course. Few know about them and the great majority, if challenged, would accept the conventional view that such work is only for men. Women have, however, taken Government sponsored Vocational Training Courses outside the training centres, mainly in commercial and clerical work.

There is undoubtedly a potential pool of trainees among older women. A Survey of Women's Employment found that one-fifth of working women and one-third of non-workers, who would probably go back to work, expressed a willingness to undertake some form of training, the majority of them in non-manual occupations. Three-fifths of the potential trainees were aged 30 or more, over half were responsible for children. One-sixth of potential trainees said they were prepared to live away from home. A further quarter were prepared to attend full-time, but over half could undertake training on a part-time basis only*.

In terms of new opportunities for women, developments under the Industrial Training Act are potentially of greater importance. There are some small signs of encouragement. The Wool, Jute and Flax Industry Training Board has run special courses for women burlers and menders, both for school leavers and for married women. The Cotton and Allied Textiles Industry Training Board has trained a number of women training officers and training instructors, some of them married women, and the more recently established Hotel and Catering Industry

* Audrey Hunt, op. cit.

Training Board is launching a number of schemes which involve and benefit women. In the commercial field also there are signs of progress. The Commercial and Clerical Training Committee of the Central Training Council has prepared a report on the training of women returning to office work after a break, and other adults entering this field of work for the first time. Copies of it have been sent to the Industrial Training Boards for their guidance. These developments are, however, mainly for the future. In the first years after the passing of the Industrial Training Act little was achieved. As a survey carried out in 1968 by Miss E. Chipchase* showed, up to that date the advent of the Industrial Training Boards had had little effect in improving the level of training for women. A survey carried out in 1968 by the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions found that, with the exception of the Cotton and Allied Textiles Industries Training Board, the Board's work had not increased the range of jobs done by women nor had they given special encouragement to firms to train them on jobs not currently considered women's jobs. There was nothing at all to suggest that the problems of the re-entry women were receiving much consideration.

In this somewhat negative situation, special interest attaches to a small number of schemes which have been started, mainly in professional occupations, for the specific purpose of utilizing older women:

a) Medicine: As a result of the acute shortage of doctors, the need to attract medically trained women back into work is recognized. Refresher courses for both hospital work and general practice are available. Grants covering fees, travel and subsistence expenses are paid for hospital appointments. Salary and board and lodging expenses are paid for those taking general practitioner training, with a small grant to the trainer. Full use of available medical womanpower depends, however, on the availability of part-time employment. Because of limited part-time openings, there are still medical women who could be employed but are not in fact working.

b) Nursing: Refresher courses for qualified nurses wishing to return to their profession are arranged by hospital authorities. The courses are free of charge but salary is unlikely to be paid during any full-time refresher course. Refresher courses for all practising midwives are compulsory every five years and salary is normally paid by the prospective employer. Midwives who have not practised for ten years or more must undertake a three months full-time training course at a midwifery training school. The shortage of nurses has led hospital

* Supplementary Report of the TUC Women's Advisory Committee to the 38th Annual Conference of representatives of unions catering for women workers. Industrial Training for Women and Girls. Women Workers, 1968 (TUC).

authorities to introduce a large number of schemes for part-time nursing and it is expected that the employment of part-time nurses will increase in the future. In addition to refresher courses for the fully qualified professional nurse, the job of practical bedside nurse provides opportunities for older women. For this grade of nurse, a two-year practical training is required to qualify for the Roll of Nurses. As there is no upper statutory age limit for trainees and training in some hospitals is on a part-time basis, this can be an attractive job for suitable older women. There are also openings for older women as nursing auxiliaries, often on a part-time basis.

c) Teaching: Until recently throughout the post-war period there has been an acute shortage of teachers in the United Kingdom. Married women with teaching experience have been urged to return to work and older women have been recruited to teacher training courses by their employing authority at full salary.

In addition to the returning teacher considerable efforts have been made to attract into teaching older women with no previous teaching experience. Some colleges of education cater exclusively for mature students, others have a separate department and in yet others mature students and school leavers train together. An interesting example of a college for the mature student is the Sidney Webb College, London, W. 1., established in 1961 specifically for mature students, both men and women. The college is non-residential. The age range of the students is from 24 to 50. Some students are transferring from other careers. Some come direct from a number of years as full-time wives and mothers. The training is for primary school teachers and for those wishing to teach Home Economics in secondary schools. The college programme has been designed to make training possible for many people who would not be able to adapt their domestic situation to a more conventional college programme. There are three patterns for the courses so that students can choose the arrangement of studies which suits them best:

- a) A three-year full-time course;
- b) A two-year shortened course for students whose previous academic or technical achievements justify a reduction in the course;
- c) A four-year course - for the first three years study is done mainly in the evenings with one Saturday a month, and the fourth year is full-time. This fourth year need not be taken immediately after the three years of evening study. It is chiefly concerned with the theory and practice of education and can, if necessary, be postponed until after the more academic part of the course has been completed, on the evening and Saturday basis.

Married women, living with their husbands, receive a grant of £ 275 a year, plus assistance with heavy travelling expenses. Students lacking the normal requirements of five 'O' levels may be admitted as a result of a special entry examination. A study of special entry candidates in a number of teacher training colleges showed that of 308 candidates in the particular study 76% finally passed the examination while just under 5% failed. The remainder either withdrew or failed to take up the place.

Life for the mature student can be exacting and tense. The Principal of Sidney Webb College, writing in the autumn of 1968*, commented on the problem of the student role for older people: "In becoming a student a person puts himself under direction of others and submits to assessment by them. Wage earning brings a certain independence; the position of a housewife and mother confers a certain dignity. A mature student, while within the college, sacrifices this type of independence and authority - the experience of being in a situation in which his performance will ultimately be assessed and the assessment communicated directly to him can induce great strain".

It is only if this situation is fully appreciated by the staff and their approach to students adjusted to their special needs that such courses can succeed. Teaching methods at the Sidney Webb College are not basically different from those of other modern progressive colleges. A considerable amount of work is done in discussion groups of 25 to 30 students and there is a tutorial system. There is, however, a recognition that mature students have a wide experience of living and are both able and need to contribute this experience for the benefit of other students. "Professional and social relationships are easy and equal", writes the Principal. "Who has not something to learn and who has not something to teach in a community where there is so much variety of experience? .. But there are severe strains as the maintenance of equal relationships in a teaching situation is quite difficult and a tutor requires both self-confidence and receptiveness to accept the degree of challenge to which his teaching may be subjected".

Whatever the difficulties, the scheme appears to be succeeding if success is to be judged by the contribution made to the teaching profession. There are very few drop-outs among those who embark on training. It is estimated that over 90% of those starting the course complete it and go into teaching. Of the relatively small number who have so far passed through the college, only 7% have left the teaching profession.

* Pleasures and Problems experienced by Mature Students and their Teachers: Some Observations, R. Beresford, Froebel Journal, No. 12, October, 1968.

This programme has been described at some length as it illustrates important aspects of the training problems of re-entry women: flexibility of entry requirements; flexibility in timetabling; flexibility in duration of course, with due regard paid to valuable previous training; flexibility of teaching approach. Last, but not least, there is a grant at least sufficient to ensure that a wife's training is neither directly nor indirectly a charge on her husband. The results obtained appear to be amply justifying this experiment in the training of the mature student and housewife.

d) Social Work Training: Social work has been, for many years, another area of acute shortage in the United Kingdom. It is also a field of work which appeals to a number of older women who, in one way or another as wives and mothers, are likely to have had contact with the social services. As for teachers, so for the older women wishing to become social workers, it is always open to them to apply for the established social work training courses at universities. Alternatively, if they can obtain employment in the local authority health and welfare services, they may be seconded to one of the many courses now organised up and down the country to enable them to qualify as professional social workers. Neither of these methods of training are, however, possible for many re-entry women and for them examples of schemes specially designed to meet their needs are of particular interest.

1. Bromley Technical College: In 1966, Bromley Technical College launched a two-year full-time course to prepare students for the University of London (External) Diploma in Social Studies. This is a basic course providing an acceptable academic qualification for professional training. It is designed especially for married women and the hours of study and teaching methods are planned to meet the special needs of this group. The course, which includes both academic and practical work, begins in October and takes from two to two and a half years. Special arrangements are made for students who cannot follow the full course of lectures within this period.

During the second year, for the first two terms academic work occupies four days a week, including one day for private study. The third term of the second year begins with final preparation for Part I of the exam, which is taken at the beginning of May. This is followed by practical training and a thesis, which must be completed by February of the following year, unless special arrangements are made for postponement. Hours of attendance at the college are from 10.15 a.m. to 3.20 p.m. with additional tutorial periods to suit the convenience of individual students. There are formal lectures, but much of the teaching is in small seminars with a full individual tutorial system. A considerable amount of written work is required, which forms the basis of

the tutorials. These methods of teaching enable students to receive a good deal of individual attention. In this way, the academic problems of the rusty or less adequately educated women can be tackled constructively and students can be helped to make the personal adjustments needed for a course of this type.

For many older married women, embarking on a demanding two-year programme of academic and fieldwork training there may well be practical difficulties which can be more easily overcome on a course as flexible and individual as at Bromley. In a social studies course there are, for older women, additional attractions, but also in some cases additional problems. The woman's own experience enables her to contribute a good deal to the course. She is strongly motivated to take it and will overcome formidable difficulties to complete it. On the other hand, women with no previous training in the behavioural sciences, who may well over the years have developed definite, even rigid, attitudes on questions of human behaviour, may find such a course not only challenging but also threatening. The close relationship established between staff and students is unquestionably of great assistance in dealing with situations arising out of both theoretical study and fieldwork experience which, with a less individual system of teaching, might, for some students, be overwhelming.

The Bromley course has been relatively free of serious problems. The absence rate among students has been low. The major difficulties that have occurred are connected with the care of elderly parents or with the care of children. Children's sickness is, inevitably, a recurring problem but one with which students appear, on the whole, to cope effectively. Husbands' co-operation and goodwill is essential.

On the first year of the course there were twelve students, all married, with an age range of from 21 to 50. Only one had a child of pre-school age, but a further six had children of school age. The remainder had children in post-school education. Two years later the record of these students was as follows: No. 1 left the course because her husband had moved but was likely and keen to return and had been doing a voluntary social work job to gain experience. No. 2 had a miscarriage and left. No. 3 had to look after an aged father, so was extending the course and would take the exam at the end of the third, instead of the second year. No. 4 took the exam and was referred in one subject, which will be repeated - had had sickness in the family. No. 5 took the exam and was referred in one subject, which will be repeated - had been ill herself. No. 6 was about to submit a thesis for Part II and had a paid job arranged with a voluntary organisation. No. 7 had passed both parts of the exam and was now a local authority mental welfare officer. No. 8 was taking Part II, might not take a paid job but was a magistrate and believed that her studies would help her work on the

Bench. No. 9 was taking Part II and had a job offered in a mental health department. No. 10 was taking Part II - would probably continue in unpaid voluntary work. No. 11 was taking Part II - would probably go into medical social work. No. 12 would defer Part II six months because she was going abroad with her husband, but would take it on return.

Thesis subjects included such themes as 1) "A Study of Children in a Primary School at Risk on Account of Parents' Mental Illness"; 2) "Child Care and School Welfare: the Distribution of Responsibility between Two Administrative Departments".

The University (External) Diploma in Social Studies, in common with other university diplomas, has certain specific academic requirements before students can be admitted. Many women who in their later years are interested in social work, and are in other ways well suited to it, lack these academic qualifications. To meet this need, Bromley Technical College runs a preparatory course for intending teachers and social workers to prepare them for the necessary examination. Adaptations are made to the normal timetable similar to those made in the Social Studies Course. Students are able to spread their studies over one or two years. Great emphasis is placed on the importance of wide reading and homework is set on an assignment system covering several weeks, to give students maximum flexibility in arranging their work.

This course is undoubtedly a means of enabling a number of women to be trained for useful and interesting work which they would otherwise be unable to tackle on account of their limited school education. In this particular case, financial support for the course is limited, with the result that some women who most need such a course are unable to take it.

2. Stevenage College of Further Education: At Stevenage the students are prepared for the Certificate of Social Work, the professional qualification approved by the Council of Social Work Training.

The course was started in 1967 with ten married women students aged 35 to 45. All had school or teenage children but only one had a pre-school child. Three had four children and one had eight.

The course is planned to last three years and teaching is on four days a week from 9.30 a.m. to 3.00 p.m. with normal college vacations.

When the course was advertised, there were 200 applicants for ten places. Selection does not depend on conventional school examination achievements but on intelligence and personality tests and interviews. Only women genuinely unable to take a full-time course are accepted.

The students receive grants from the local education authorities for fees and maintenance and for heavy travelling expenses. In assessing the grant, local authorities take into account any personal income the woman herself may receive but not her husband's income.

The first year of the course, as at present organised, is almost entirely academic. It is found that these students need help in organising their work, how to read systematically and how to prepare written work. A personal tutor has been appointed to help overcome the problems of study and adjustment which emerged during the first year of the course. Teaching methods include lectures, seminars, essays and tutorials and, in the second and third years, practical training in case work and community work. Practical work in the second year is arranged for two days a week in the first and third terms, and three days a week in the second term. It is not arranged during the school holidays, when in full-time courses it would normally take place, as holidays are clearly the time when the heaviest demands are made on mothers.

This course is still too new for any assessment of results to be possible but the demand for such a course is clearly shown by the number of applications submitted.

Assessments of Effectiveness

In a few special categories, as has been described, the courses specifically designed for women are attempting to meet the needs of re-entry women, both with regard to the planning of the courses and in their approach to the mature students. This is happening, however, only in the type of work in which women have been traditionally employed and where there are quite exceptional labour market shortages. The new initiatives in the training field which are taking place in the United Kingdom have, so far, had little impact on the position of women, nor is the changing technological and demographic position in the country being reflected in a changed approach to women's jobs.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Legal and Administrative Framework

Recruitment, training and placement of women in the United States is part of the responsibility of the United States Department of Labor. Its work for women is stimulated by the Women's Bureau, with an office at National Headquarters and in five regions.

In 1961, the United States Government set up a Commission on the Status of Women and partly as a result of the activities of the Women's Bureau similar Commissions were established in every State. These Commissions have worked vigorously to improve the position of women through legislation and in other ways. Partly as a result of their activities, thirty-six States and the District of Columbia have now outlawed pay discrimination and fourteen States and the District of Columbia have banned all forms of discrimination in employment on the basis of sex.

The Federal Equal Pay Act of 1963 prohibits employers from discriminating in the payment of wages on the basis of sex, and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits sex discrimination in private employment. It applies to employers, employment agencies and labour unions with twenty-five or more employees or members. Title VII has not been everywhere strongly enforced but the position has been strengthened by the President's Executive Order in 1967 banning sex discrimination in Federal and related employment. In 1962, the Manpower Development and Training Act made funds available for training unemployed or under-employed men and women. Training is given in both training institutions and on the job, and is available on a part-time as well as on a full-time basis.

The Labour Market Position for Women

In 1967, the total labour force in the United States, including the armed forces, consisted of 52,398,000 men and 28,395,000 women, a total of 80,793,000*. Women thus formed 35% of the country's total manpower (37% of purely civilian manpower). The total numbers of women in employment had more than doubled since the years immediately before the Second World War.

This spectacular total increase included a rise in the number of women in professional and technical jobs from 1,570,000 in 1940 to 3,472,000 in 1966. Impressive as are these figures, they none the less represent a fall in the ratio of women to men in these occupations from 45% in 1940 to 37% in 1966. During this period the number of women doubled, but the number of men trebled. By 1966 only 1% of engineers, 3% of lawyers, 6% of physicians and 8% of scientists were women. In industrial management women had scarcely penetrated at all. This did not represent a decline in the women's share of these traditionally male professions but equally it showed no improvement relative to men in the numbers held of these higher level occupations. On the other hand, the proportion of women among all workers in lower level jobs increased. In service trades, excluding private household employment, between the years 1940 and 1966 the proportion of women rose from 40% to 55%, and in clerical occupations over the same period from 52% to 72%. The fall in the level of women's employment relative to men was reflected in a widening difference in the earnings of men and women, despite the anti-discrimination laws aimed at reducing such differences. In 1965, the median wage or salary income for a full-time woman worker was 64% of the figure for men but had dropped to 60% in 1965. In 1965, only 4% of women received a wage or salary of \$ 7,000 or more and only 1% received \$ 10,000. This decline in the relative position of women is not explained by any absolute fall in the demand for higher qualified personnel. President Johnson, speaking in the mid-1960's of the inadequate supply of teachers, health service specialists, scientists, engineers and administrators, declared: "The requirements in these levels alone will be 110,000 additionally trained specialists every month for the next ten years. These requirements cannot be met by men alone and unless we begin now to open more and more professions to our women and unless we begin now to train our women to enter these professions, then the needs of our nation are just not going to be met".

Whatever the reason for women's failure to fill higher level posts, it is not the result of any reluctance on their part to take paid employment.

* Manpower Report to the President, 1968.

Table 15 shows that the change in female participation rates in the total labour force, including the armed forces, between 1947 and 1967 was as follows:

Table 15

	16+	16 AND 17	18 AND 19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
1947 ..	31.8	29.5	52.3	44.9	32.0	36.3	32.7	24.3	8.1
1967 ..	41.1	31.0	52.3	53.4	41.9	48.1	51.8	42.4	9.6

Participation rates for all ages 20 + have risen dramatically in the 20-year period. Moreover, whereas in 1947 there was a steady decline from the 18 and 19 age group, apart from a small rise in the 35-44 group, in 1967 after a decline in the age group 25-34 there was a sharp upward swing to a second peak in the 45-54 age group. This is a clear indication of the greatly increased importance of the re-entry woman over the 20-year period. Among married women alone, participation rates in 1948 and 1967 rose as follows:

Table 16

	NO CHILDREN	CHILDREN 6-17 YEARS	CHILDREN UNDER 6	TOTAL
1948	28.4	26.0	10.8	22.0
1967	38.9	45.0	26.5	36.8

Among the very large number of re-entry women, there are undoubtedly many who are obtaining employment on a part-time basis, and there are certainly many more who would like to obtain it. Interesting work to create part-time openings is being carried on by, for example, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union in Boston - a ninety-year old self-help organisation which now devotes a great deal of its resources to exploring employment opportunities for older women, counselling them and placing them in jobs. Of particular interest is the Partnership Teaching Service scheme which the Union has created.

Under this scheme, the Education Authority has been persuaded to employ a "partnership" of two women teachers to be responsible for a single teaching post arranging duties between them to suit their own needs, while guaranteeing competent service to the school. The Union stresses the need for care in "pairing" the partners and itself accepts responsibility for selecting the pairs. Such a scheme will only work, the Union found, if the partners are a good match and this matching must take account both of the domestic situations of the women and of the practical and psychological requirements of the job.

Provisions Facilitating the Re-entry of Women

Vocational Guidance

Great stress is laid in the United States on the need for vocational guidance for re-entry women. In the Employment Service of the United States Department of Labour there is a staff of employment counsellors most of whom have received some academic or professional training in counselling. In every local employment office affiliated to the Manpower Administration there are one or more persons specially trained to serve older workers. Many of these "Older Worker Specialists" are counsellors who receive special in-service training in addition to the normal counsellor training. Older Worker Specialists provide services other than counselling, including the preparation of the applicant and the employer for an interview, referral to jobs, training, liaison with other agencies, job development and follow-up services after placement. In addition, colleges, universities and voluntary organisations are providing special schools of vocational guidance and counselling for older women.

Universities and women's colleges have taken the lead in providing guidance and counselling for college graduates and others who wish to find their way back into employment. Of particular interest, for example, is the New York State Guidance Centre, which has been running a three-year programme under the direction of Dr. Esther Westervelt. In one and a half years the Centre answered three thousand queries and interviewed 850 people. A point of importance emerging from this Centre is the number of adults needing not refresher courses but training for a totally new profession.

One of the best known schemes for continuing education for older women is the Minnesota Plan at the Minnesota University. Soon after the start of the Plan, it was found that a comprehensive, fully staffed vocational guidance programme was needed together with a counselling programme for older women after they had started on their courses. This was organised as part of the general student counselling programme

using the University's testing and other facilities. An individual counselling session usually lasted fifty minutes.

Influenced by the Minnesota Plan, the Seven College Vocational Workshops were started in 1962 to provide general re-orientation to work programmes for women seeking to return to the labour market. These consisted of courses run one day a week for a period of ten weeks with lectures and discussions on the labour market and on opportunities for women.

At George Washington University, Dr. R. Osborne, a married graduate of the University, for a number of years has been organising short courses to build up the confidence of older women to prepare them for seeking employment. The course includes testing and lectures on jobs, personal counselling and a written study by each student of a career of her own choosing, a process which forces her to make contacts and collect information which she then has to present as a report.

Outside the college world, other organisations are aware of the need for information and advice for re-entry women. A volunteer organisation, the "Washington Opportunities for Women", runs an office largely staffed by volunteers to advise and assist the older woman. It is very fully used.

Programme for Education and Training

A very considerable amount of vocational training is carried out under the Manpower Development and Training Act, which in 1962 launched a major full-scale Federal scheme for training unemployed men and women. Since 1966, the MDTA programme has devoted about two-thirds of its funds for training the "disadvantaged", the other third being used to meet the need for trained personnel in occupations with shortages of skilled labour. Over the years it has been in operation, 42% of all trainees and 31% of those on on-the-job programmes have been women. Although clerical and sales occupations have provided the largest training area for women in these programmes, training as health workers, service workers and skilled and semi-skilled factory workers has also been available.

In addition, a scheme known as the New Careers Programme offers extensive opportunities for adults from families with incomes below the poverty line. It is aimed at establishing, on a permanent basis, new and necessary community service jobs. This scheme opens up career opportunities and at the same time relieves critical shortages of professional personnel in such fields as health, education and public welfare services.

The Federal-State Programme of vocational education remains, however, the largest source of formal training for non-professional occupations. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the 1968 Amendments greatly expanded and strengthened the Federal-State system so that training could be provided in all occupations not requiring a baccalaureate degree. Greater emphasis is being placed on training for adults and on post-secondary school training. During the fiscal year 1967, there were 214,617 women and girls enrolled in post-secondary school vocational courses and 1,228,159 women in adult extension vocational courses. Table 17 demonstrates the numbers of female trainees enrolled in Public Vocational Courses and the type of course taken in 1966-1967. It also shows the numbers and percentage distribution entering adult extension courses.

Over half the trainees took courses in Home Economics which is concerned mainly with assisting women to run their own homes more effectively, and has little relevance for re-entry women. It is noticeable too that the overwhelming majority of trainees took courses for traditional women's jobs. The fact that nearly a quarter of the adult extension courses were taken as preparation for office work suggests a considerable opportunity for older women in this field which could be regarded as a satisfactory opening by many re-entry women.

The numbers and distribution of women taking the MDTA programme in 1968, given in Table 18, emphasizes the opportunities in office work. This table also draws attention to the considerable amount of refresher training being given to professional nurses and to the other openings for older women in the health services.

Inadequate education limits training possibilities. Early marriage and a high drop-out rate in many American universities and colleges means that many older women are conscious of educational limitations and lack the necessary educational requirements to tackle the training for the posts they would like to obtain. An increasing number of colleges and other institutions are providing programmes to meet this need. The following examples are illustrations of some especially interesting developments at all educational levels.

1. Radcliffe Institute, Cambridge, Mass.

In 1961, Radcliffe Institute started a scheme for women of Ph. D. level, aged 30-40, to spend one or two years on a programme of advanced work in scholarship, literature and art. The students are given grants of \$ 3,000 a year to cover the costs of releasing them from domestic duties and to meet other expenses incurred in the study years. Beautifully furnished and equipped private studies and studios are made

Table 17

PROGRAMME	ALL WOMEN ENROLLED		ADULT EXTENSION COURSES	
	NUMBER	% DISTRIBUTION	NUMBER	% DISTRIBUTION
TOTAL	3,827,166	100.0	1,228,159	100.0
Home Economics	2,101,221	54.9	659,501	53.7
Job-oriented home economics	57,025	1.5	31,762	2.6
Office occupations	1,214,925	31.7	301,494	24.5
Distribution	214,314	5.6	130,917	10.7
Trades and industry	155,808	4.1	79,218	6.5
Health occupations	109,005	2.8	40,837	3.3
Technical education	22,890	0.6	12,881	1.0
Agriculture	9,003	0.2	3,311	0.3

Table 18. PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENROLLED IN MDTA PROGRAMMES,
BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1968

OCCUPATION	TYPE OF TRAINING	
	INSTITUTIONAL	ON-THE-JOB
Number	62,000	40,000
Percent	100	100
Professional, technical and managerial ⁽¹⁾	27	4
Professional nurse (refresher)	9	...
Occupations in medicine and health ⁽²⁾	15	...
Clerical and sales ⁽¹⁾	41	15
Computing and account recording (n. e. c.)	9	4
Stenographer	9	...
Stenographer-typist and related	14	...
Service ⁽¹⁾	23	32
Attendants, home and first aid	...	19
Attendants, hospital and related ⁽³⁾	13	...
Chefs and cooks (large hotels and restaurants)	3	...
Waitress and related	...	4
Farming, fishing, forestry	(4)	(4)
Processing ⁽¹⁾	(4)	6
Mixing and blending (chemicals, plastics, etc.)	...	3
Machine trades	2	12
Bench work ⁽¹⁾	5	22
Electronic components assembly and repair	...	4
Structural work	2	7
All other occupations	(4)	2

(1) Includes women being trained in occupations not shown separately.

(2) Includes licensed practical nurse, surgical technician, inhalation therapist, medical laboratory technician, and dentist's assistant.

(3) Includes nurses' aide, ward attendant, psychiatric aide, and tray-line worker.

(4) Less than 1%.

SOURCE: US Department of Labor, Manpower Administration.

available. The students undertake to use the time exclusively for the scheme they have outlined and on the basis of which they have been selected.

By the summer of 1968, 150 women had received grants. There is a careful selection procedure and a counselling programme is available which has been used by many women who have not eventually taken part in the scheme. Of those who have taken the grant, very few indeed have dropped out and a number of books and papers have been published by students on completion of their projects.

2. The Minnesota Plan

Already quoted in connection with its vocational guidance and counselling services, the Minnesota Plan is important for the influence it has had in other parts of the United States and also because of the comprehensiveness of its approach. The Plan was launched at Minnesota University in 1960. Its objectives were, "to make possible the full utilization of our resources of able, educated womanpower and to increase the personal happiness and satisfaction of many individual women"*. The Plan does not consist of a special separate programme for re-entry women. It is rather an attempt to use the existing resources of the University of Minnesota to tackle the special educational needs of women, having first analysed the nature of these special needs.

"The difference in the educational requirements of men and women is demonstrated by the fact that most women, whatever their training, retire from active professional life when they have children. From this spring two educational problems peculiar to women. Many girls with ability fail to begin higher education, or if they start, do not complete it. While they are studying they often lack focus and direction. They do not know where they are going and so can make no purposeful plans". But, according to the Minnesota Report in 1958, the average married woman has had her last child by the time she is 26 and can expect to live to be 75 - roughly two-thirds of her life lay ahead. "At this stage, women often find it extremely difficult to return to suitable employment or to the main stream of academic work". This Minnesota analysis of the position of women and its implied waste of womanpower certainly appears to be borne out by the woman's employment situation already discussed.

Minnesota set out to assist in the three important phases where women's needs are in some respect different from those of men. They

* Five Year Report - 1960-1965 of the Minnesota Plan for the Continuing Education of Women, University of Minnesota, 1967.

attempt to help girls and young women to "foresee and plan for the interrupted multi-role lives they will lead"; second, to enable them to maintain intellectual skills and training throughout the family years and to help the older woman to find activities, paid or unpaid, in which she can use her capacities in the fullest and most appropriate way.

"Obviously, these purposes must be served in different ways for women at different stages of their lives, and even for different women of the same age or educational groups. High ability high school girls should be recognized and encouraged to go to college even if they hope to get married. Students in college need guidance in planning their programme with the long, as well as the short-term future in mind. Students who drop out of college need information about how they can continue to complete their education and some urging and encouragement to do so. Housebound mothers need special educational opportunities suitable to their own daily schedules to permit them to maintain intellectual skills and to perform educational requirements. Mature women seeking to enter or re-enter the labour market (or to progress in the civil and political areas) need flexible educational requirements, refresher courses, perhaps broad inter-disciplinary surveys as well as sophisticated counselling".

So the Minnesota Group were able to arrange individual counselling and guidance through the established machinery of the university. Some special courses were devised, mainly in the liberal arts fields, with the teacher consciously addressing himself to a sophisticated and well-read group of mature women. In the main, however, it was the ordinary university programme which the women, adequately advised, were encouraged to use. In the same way, the special placement work for the women in the continuing Educational Programme was grafted on to the work already done in the university, although some special initiatives by specially appointed people were required. The placement machinery has undoubtedly found new job opportunities for women which they would almost certainly never have obtained on their own.

3. The Human Relations Center, New York

In 1951 the Human Relations Center was established at the New York School for Social Research to attempt by research, study and personal counselling, to improve inter-personal relationships. A special programme has been organised to help re-entry women. Day-time courses are from 9.30 a. m. to 4.00 p. m. Assistance is given, not only with study, but also by discovering through testing and other means the kind of activity best suited to the individual woman. By no means all the women who come to the Center want paid employment and considerable emphasis is placed on training courses for serious voluntary

work. In the United States, as in other countries, there is strong feeling that in a democracy citizens need to take a direct part in the running of the country, both to make a personal contribution and to avoid excessive bureaucratic control. For this to be effective, however, it must be carried out by people whose knowledge and skill enables them to play a constructive and informed part and to tackle tasks of considerable responsibility. This is a far cry from much of the voluntary work of the past and it is for this type of work that training for volunteers is given at the Human Relations Center. The attempt to involve local communities in the Poverty Programme, for example, has given impetus to this kind of activity.

4. Women's Talent Corps

Another route to public work, both paid and unpaid, is via the Women's Talent Corps, where members help in running voluntary welfare schemes. Three months training is given, after which the trainees become aides in teaching, occupational therapy, social work, mental health, legal services and research. Developments of this kind raise the issue of promotion for women who are capable of moving beyond the level of aides. This is a problem which has been recognized but not solved.

5. New York State University

New York State University makes special arrangements to assist women who wish to continue their education at home. Teaching is given on television, including a "sunrise semester" at 6.30 a.m., and a high school proficiency programme at 6.00 p.m. Syllabuses for study are published and tests and examinations are organised at central points. Since one of the major difficulties of the re-entry woman is the lack of basic qualifications, programmes of this sort, though not necessarily at this time of day, are an essential element in any comprehensive attempt to assist them.

6. Community Colleges

Community Colleges run two-year college programmes leading to associate degrees. Originally these were schemes for technical training but they are now also offering general education programmes.

Assessment of Effectiveness

In view of the very large numbers of older women re-entering the labour market and the relatively low level of their work and pay, the

need is apparent for developing new openings for women and appropriate training for these openings. It is clear that in the United States there is a considerable amount of experiment in vocational guidance for re-entry women, in educational services to help fill the gaps in their basic education, and in training for jobs where there is a demand for women workers. The next stage, as those concerned with women's employment are fully aware, is to find new openings and to raise the general level of women's work. This requires a change of attitude on the part of employers, of the general public, and not least of many of the girls and women themselves. Emphasis is placed both on the need to persuade women to take more full advantage of the opportunities which already exist, and on the need to pioneer new opportunities.

RECAPITULATIVE TABLE ON THE RE-ENTRY OF WOMEN TO THE

COUNTRY	MINISTRY RESPONSIBLE FOR EMPLOYMENT OF RE-ENTRY WOMEN	SPECIAL ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISION FOR WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT	OFFICIAL POLICY OF NON-DISCRIMINATION ON GROUNDS OF SEX	OFFICIAL POLICY ON EQUAL PAY	OFFICIAL POLICY ON RE-ENTRY	AVAILABILITY OF PROFESSIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE	SPECIAL SCHEMES FOR RE-ENTRY
CANADA	Department of Manpower and Immigration.	A woman official at HQ and regional offices has special responsibility for women's questions.	Nil.	Minimum wage orders governed by provinces lay down minimum wages for men and women. Laws prohibiting discrimination on rates of pay exist in a number of provinces.	None, but no discrimination against married women's employment.	Manpower counsellor available throughout provinces.	Special schemes for shortages, e.g. teaching. Training courses also centres throughout Canada and at expense by and in municipal and private establishments and private industry.
DENMARK	Ministry of Labour.	Specially appointed counsellor for women's employment.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Special two weeks' vocational guidance courses.	Three weeks' training for men and women at unskilled level subsequent up-grade courses. Re-entry courses of 2-3 weeks office and shop training in establishment and enterprises paid for by public funds.
FEDERAL REPUBLIC GERMANY	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The Federal Institute for Labour.	A woman official at HQ, and regional as well as local offices have special responsibility for women's questions.	The Basic Law forbids any discrimination on grounds of sex. Through guided information the Federal Government and the Labour Administration make every effort to overcome still existing prejudices.	Accepted in principle. Not fully implemented.	Is supported.	Attempted but not widespread.	Grants are paid for undertaking training of male or female workers. 1969 Training re-entry women specifically men category for training facilities available.
FRANCE	Ministry of Labour, Employment and Population.	Nil.	Nil.	Accepted in principle. Not fully implemented.	Nil.	Advice of Ministry of Labour, Employment and Population and at National Employment Agency. Services of vocational advisers recently increased in number are available.	Courses at Academies equally to men. Special courses for acute shortages e.g. office workers to meet new women. Training in private establishments paid for by public funds.

OF WOMEN TO THE LABOUR MARKET IN NINE MEMBER COUNTRIES

	SPECIAL TRAINING SCHEMES FOR RE-ENTRY WOMEN	FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION/ TRAINING OF RE-ENTRY WOMEN	AVAILABILITY OF PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT	SPECIAL PROVISION FOR ASSISTING RE-ENTRY MOTHERS	LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION RATE OF WOMEN AGED 15-64	TRENDS IN PARTICIPATION RATE OF WOMEN OVER 35	EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE TRADITIONAL WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS
or prov-	Special schemes to meet shortages, e.g. Nursing, teaching. Training courses also in manpower centres throughout Canada and at government expense by arrangement in municipal schemes, private establishments and private industry.	Free training courses at manpower centres, training allowances but only for women who have been in labour market 3 years or are head of household.	Considerable. 23.4% of all women employed in 1964. 89% of these voluntary part-time.	Crèches exist but strong pressure for extension.	33% (1961).	Aged 35-44 22.4% (1951) 35.0% (1965) Aged 45-54 21.1% (1951) 36.7% (1965).	Very little.
oca- ses.	Three weeks courses for men and women starting at unskilled level. Subsequent up-grading courses. Re-training courses of 2-4 weeks for office and shop work. Training in state establishment and industrial enterprises paid for by public funds.	Vocational guidance course members not paid but expenses met. Training courses free. Re-entry women receive 80% of basic wage for occupation for which being trained, irrespective of husband's income.	Restricted. Some trade union opposition to part-time employment. Demand for part-time work exceeds supply.	Crèches exist but strong pressure for extension.	42% (1960).	Increased participation in last decade since 1960. In 1960 30% of labour force women, of which 40% married. In 1967 35% of the labour force women, of which 58% married.	Mainly traditional but women penetrating lower level computer work, draughtsmanship, laboratory assistants, taxi, bus and tram drivers.
de-	Grants are paid to anyone undertaking training, male or female. In the 1969 Training Act, the re-entry woman is specifically mentioned as a category for whom training facilities are available.	Training grants available only for women classified as "unemployed". Returning housewives excluded from benefit are paid maintenance grants of 50% of tuition fees up to 50 D. M. a month plus travelling expenses.	Mainly where acute labour shortages. Exceptional as a matter of policy, e.g. in Post Office. In the past year the number of vacancies for part-time employment reported by the labour exchanges was in all cases higher than the number of women seeking employment. (Note: At present, June 1969, 27,000 women seeking employment and 72,000 vacancies for part-time employment were reported; on 30th June, 1968, 30,000 women and 45,000 vacancies. Part-time work is welcomed by the Government. In 28 towns the labour administration has established special placement offices for part-time labour).	Crèches exist but strong pressure for extension. NB: School day finishes normally at 2 p.m., and absence of school dinners creates special problems for mothers of school-children.	47%.	Continuing high.	Draughtsmanship. Otherwise mostly traditional.
and tional l reas- il-	Courses at AFPA open equally to men and women. Special courses where acute shortage of women, e.g. office work organised to meet needs of older women. Training in private establishments and firms paid for from public funds.	Training courses free, plus grants to trainees.	Opposed by trade unions. Very little part-time employment.	Crèches exist but strong pressure for extension. Holiday camps for school children.	42% (1962).	Declining overall participation rate: 1906 - 39% 1962 - 36% Decline in % of women in agriculture and industry. Rise in tertiary employment.	Nil.

RECAPITULATIVE TABLE ON THE RE-ENTRY OF WOMEN

COUNTRY	MINISTRY RESPONSIBLE FOR EMPLOYMENT OF RE-ENTRY WOMEN	SPECIAL ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISION FOR WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT	OFFICIAL POLICY OF NON-DISCRIMINATION ON GROUNDS OF SEX	OFFICIAL POLICY ON EQUAL PAY	OFFICIAL POLICY ON RE-ENTRY	AVAILABILITY OF PROFESSIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE	
ITALY	Ministry of Labour and Social Provision.	Nil.	Nil.	Accepted in principle. Not fully implemented.	Nil.	Nil.	Cour to me spec entry
NETHERLANDS	Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health.	Small section at HQ of Ministry specially concerned with women's employment.	Legislation being prepared to forbid firing of pregnant women and women who are going to marry.	Accepted in principle. Not fully implemented.	Measures are being prepared.	All the vocational guidance facilities to men are equally open to women.	Train for m centr train
SWEDEN	Labour Market Board.	Special officers to deal with expansion of women's employment.	Yes.	Accepted in principle. Implementation progressing though not complete.	Positive encouragement to re-entry.	Yes. Labour Market Board officers advised by professional vocational guidance officers.	No sp wome spread train Labour progr
UNITED KINGDOM	a) Department of Employment and Productivity - Great Britain; b) Ministry of Health and Social Security - Northern Ireland.	A section of the Department of Employment and Productivity has special responsibility for policy on women's employment.	Nil.	Equal pay No. 2 passed in 1970.	Nil.	Vocational guidance centres established by the DEP in 29 local centres. Otherwise private schemes only available equally to men and women.	Train wome train support funds ing ou few w gover tres. ed by Board dusti leadin creas wome
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	Department of Labor.	Women's Bureau at headquarters and in five regions. Advisory and technical assistance.	Yes.	Federal Equal Pay Act 1963 prohibits discrimination in payment of wages on grounds of sex. In addition 36 states and the District of Columbia outlaw pay discrimination based on sex.	Re-entry supported by work of Women's Bureau.	Advice provided by: Staff of employment counsellors in the Department of Labor, Older Worker Specialists in every local employment office, colleges, universities and voluntary organisations.	A larg given throu manpe and th ary se cours tional launc ad ho versit bodies wome

RE-ENTRY OF WOMEN TO THE LABOUR MARKET IN NINE MEMBER COUNTRIES (Cont'd)

AVAILABILITY OF PROFESSIONAL AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE	SPECIAL TRAINING SCHEMES FOR RE-ENTRY WOMEN	FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION/ TRAINING OF RE-ENTRY WOMEN	AVAILABILITY OF PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT	SPECIAL PROVISION FOR ASSISTING RE-ENTRY MOTHERS	LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION RATE OF WOMEN AGED 15-64	TRENDS IN PARTICIPATION RATE OF WOMEN OVER 35	EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE TRADITIONAL WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS
	Courses available equally to men and women. No special provision for re-entry women.	Courses free of charge.	Nil.	Nil.	28% (1961).	Decline in participation rates. Decline in % of women in agriculture and industry. Not offset by increase in tertiary employment.	Nil.
Vocational guidance for men are open to women.	Training available equally for men and women at centres of vocational training for adults.	Training free. Compensation paid for loss of earnings while training. In-service training grants paid to employers, and training and grants available for approved training courses outside centres for vocational training, e.g. office work, social work.	Very little.	Crèches and others are being promoted.	26% (1960).	A very slight increase.	Occasionally.
Labour Market Board advised by professional vocational guidance.	No special schemes for women but very widespread training and re-training available through Labour Market Board programmes.	Full cost of training plus maintenance allowance, and help with existing financial commitments.	Considerable.	Crèches exist but strong pressure for extension.	38% (1960).	Rising.	Yes. Still mainly traditional but some modern developments in manufacturing industry.
Guidance centres established by the 19 local centres. The private schemes available equally to women.	Training for both men and women in government training centres, but with support from private funds for vocational training outside centres. Very few women trained in government training centres. Training encouraged by Industrial Training Boards for individual industries and companies leading to a slight increase in provision for women.	Training in government centres free for both men and women. Grants are paid to trainees, both men and women. Training in industry is for men and women in employment so wages are paid by employers.	Considerable in occupations where shortage of labour.	Crèches exist but strong pressure for extension.	45% (1961).	Rising.	Very little.
Provided by: Staff employment counsellors in department of Older Worker in every local office, universities and organisations.	A large number of women given vocational training through various Federal manpower programmes and through post-secondary school and adult courses in public vocational education system launched in 1962. Many ad hoc schemes by universities and voluntary bodies to assist re-entry women.	Federal training free for eligible applicants. Maintenance allowances given for unemployed and certain other needy applicants.	Considerable.	Crèches exist.	39% (1960).	Rising.	Level rising, but mainly traditional.

IV

THE COSTS AND THE BENEFITS

It is clear that the steps that need to be taken to assist and to make effective use of re-entry can cost a lot of money. Who pays the bill, how big is it, and what is the pay-off? Costs and benefits can arise at four levels: to the re-entry woman herself; to the employer; to public funds; and to society as a whole.

1. To the Re-Entry Woman Herself

When a married woman decides to take a job it must be assumed that she will only do so if the benefits of working exceed the costs sufficiently to justify the additional effort. To the extent that a woman wants a job for non-monetary reasons the level of pay at which she decides it is not worth her while to work may be very low. Her net benefit from the job, or rent (defined as payment over and above the amount it is necessary to pay to attract and retain such a woman in employment) will be high. The benefits she obtains, and therefore the minimum payment that will keep her at work, will be made up of both cash payments and other benefits to which she attaches a value. For the woman's decision to work or not to work to be a rational choice she needs to know what both the costs and the benefits are. In reality some of the costs may be concealed and never consciously taken into account. Without realizing it the working housewife may, for example, shop less economically when lack of time does not permit careful comparison of prices, or because quickly cooked food is often in the higher price ranges. She may also make a conscious decision to pay a price for non-monetary satisfactions though she might not if challenged admit that it is in part for these satisfactions that she is working.

Studies have shown that many a married woman feels lonely and a back number as her children grow older, and a job which gives new interests and scope may be accepted despite low financial return.

Many re-entry women have for generations taken voluntary work to meet this need, often costing them or their husbands a good deal of money.

In 1965, in a publication issued by the Institute of Life Insurance New York*, an assessment was made of the difference between the gross and the net earnings of a wife, adjustments having been made for the costs of working. An example was given of a married woman with three children all at school, earning \$ 90.00 a week (\$ 4,500 p. a.) who had a net income of \$ 45.87 a week - approximately half. In the example studied the husband earned \$ 6,000 p. a. Federal and State tax for the joint income was \$ 2,442.20, an extra \$ 1,257.20 arising from the addition of the wife's earnings to the joint income. Of this amount \$ 764.40 is charged against the wife's earnings and \$ 492.80 is additional tax paid on the joint income. In terms of joint income therefore the wife's earnings add to family income per week \$ 45.87 less \$ 9.47, making a net family addition of \$ 36.40 compared with her gross earnings of \$ 90.00.

This level of cost is confirmed in the United States Department of Labor Women's Bureau 1965 Handbook on Women Workers which states: "Work related expenses may absorb from 1/4 to 1/2 of wives' earnings".

In the United Kingdom the Central Office of Information Study in 1965 of 10,000 women showed that 90% of those working 36 hours a week or more earned below £ 16.0.0 a week. Of all women working full-time or part-time 50% earned under 5 s. an hour. Precise costs of working were not calculated in relation to earnings but certain figures indicate the kind of limits on outlay made by women with earnings at these levels. Only 1/6 of all full-time workers had a journey taking longer than half an hour. Similarly over 70% of the women with pre-school children paid nothing for the care of their children. One third were prepared to pay up to £ 2.0.0 a week, but only 14% were prepared to pay over £ 2.0.0 a week for child care. It is estimated, according to the same report, that a place for one child in a local authority day nursery costs £ 5.0.0 a week. Clearly at the rates of pay of women in this survey their availability for work and their opportunities are severely limited by transport and child care costs.

Again in the United States, in studies done in North Carolina and Ohio in 1965**, the following detailed list was made of the items to be

* Your Financial Worksheet. A Guide for Women returning to the job. Women's Division, Institute of Life Insurance.

** Job related expenses and management practices of gainfully employed wives in North Carolina. Home Economics Research Report No. 34. Agricultural Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

deducted from gross earnings in estimating the net gain from working to a married woman worker:

- Income tax;
- social security tax;
- other retirement contributions;
- meals and snacks;
- transport to and from work;
- transport on the job;
- Gifts and flowers at work;
- employee parties and group needs;
- medical expenses due to the job;
- care of children;
- dues to union;
- dues to professional and business organizations;
- professional publications;
- special working clothing;
- tools, licences etc. ;
- professional and business meetings;
- educational expenses;
- other.

Net earnings vary not only with the costs of working but also with the husband's income and consequent varying liability for tax. Table 19 taken from the same report, summarizes the average gross and net income of employed urban wives, analysed by husband's income.

But, in considering the benefits the wife derives from working, it can be argued that some of the 'costs' of working also generate to some extent 'benefits' to the woman herself. Transport costs for the journey to work may yield the benefit of a longed for trip to town; the extra hairdos and clothes needed for working may bring their own pleasures; many women who can afford it the world over pay other people to look after their children. Social security contributions and union dues can be seen as a form of saving. Thus, only a part of her expenditure on such items can be regarded as unavoidable costs to be deducted from her post-tax earnings.

Table 19. AVERAGE GROSS AND NET INCOME AND JOB-RELATED EXPENSES OF EMPLOYED WIVES, BY HUSBAND'S INCOME (AFTER TAX) AND FAMILY TYPE: URBAN

	HUSBAND'S INCOME (AFTER TAX)									
	UNDER \$ 3,000			\$ 3,000 - \$ 4,999			\$ 5,000 AND OVER			
	ALL FAMILIES ¹	ALL ADULT	WITH CHILDREN 6-17 ONLY	ALL FAMILIES	ALL ADULT	WITH CHILDREN UNDER 6	ALL FAMILIES	ALL ADULT	WITH CHILDREN 6-17 ONLY	WITH CHILDREN UNDER 6
Husband's income (after tax)	\$ 2,614	\$ 4,045	\$ 3,992	\$ 4,134	\$ 3,946	\$ 6,371	\$ 6,210	\$ 6,460	\$ 6,592	\$ 2,602
Wife's income (before tax)	2,382	2,821	2,685	2,977	2,710	3,107	3,419	2,986	2,602	2,602
Direct job-related expenses:										
Income taxes	382	535	525	567	489	661	741	617	553	553
Transportation	129	82	66	106	61	139	122	131	209	209
Meals at work	108	83	95	70	91	79	71	78	104	104
Other ²	103	115	104	124	111	165	187	165	100	100
Extra for paid service	70	142	18	105	366	38	79	61	383	383
Extra for clothing and personal care ..	83	145	195	92	107	197	206	124	114	114
Net	1,507	1,719	1,682	1,913	1,485	1,828	2,013	1,790	1,139	1,139
Wife's income (before tax)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Direct job-related expenses:										
Income taxes	16.0	19.0	19.6	19.0	18.0	21.3	21.7	20.8	21.3	21.3
Transportation	5.4	2.9	2.5	3.6	2.2	4.5	3.6	4.4	8.0	8.0
Meals at work	4.5	2.9	3.5	2.4	3.4	2.5	2.1	2.6	4.0	4.0
Other ²	4.3	4.1	3.9	4.2	4.1	5.3	5.5	5.6	3.8	3.8
Extra for paid service	2.9	5.0	0.7	3.5	13.5	1.2	2.3	2.1	14.7	14.7
Extra for clothing and personal care ..	3.5	5.1	7.3	3.1	3.9	6.3	6.0	4.2	4.4	4.4
Net	63.3	60.9	62.6	64.3	54.8	58.8	58.9	60.4	43.8	43.8
Families	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
	17	110	35	49	26	57	25	23	9	9

1. Not shown by family type because of small number of families.
2. Includes social security tax, other retirement contributions, union and professional dues, gifts at work, and other similar expenses.
NOTE: Items may not add to totals because of rounding.
SOURCE: Job-Related Expenditures and Management Practices of Gainfully Employed Wives in Ohio. Home Economics Research Report No. 27. Agricultural Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

It is not possible to make a precise estimate of the extent to which these costs also confer benefits, and should therefore be 'written down'. To illustrate this point let it be assumed that each of the costs confers benefits to the extent suggested in the following lists:

Transportation	50%	}	50% benefit, therefore only 50% to be deducted as costs.
Meals at work	50%		
Social Security retirement, union and professional dues (classified as 'other' in table)			75% benefit therefore only 25% to be deducted as costs.
Extra paid service	100%	}	100% benefit therefore 0% to be deducted as costs.
Extra clothing and personal care	100%		

If on this assumption the net incomes in Table 19 are re-calculated the figures are those shown in the table on page 118.

On these assumptions the advantages to the housewife of taking a job become much more obvious, as is seen in the preceding list.

2. To The Employer

In the past it has frequently been said that it is not worth the employer's while to employ and train a re-entry woman as she is unlikely to stay. Since the attitude of employers can in the last analysis determine the prospect for re-entry women, an estimate of the costs and benefits to employers is at the heart of any study of this problem.

The return to the employer depends on three main variables and the interaction between them: the cost of recruitment and training; the length of service of the woman; and the profit the employer can make on the woman's services once she is trained. Even for the simplest and least skilled job it costs something to recruit a woman and introduce her to her job and she has to be paid wages from the moment she enters employment. If she leaves without producing anything of value the employer suffers a total loss. At the other end of the scale a worker once trained can contribute every hour of her working life to the employer's profit. Between these two extremes there is a break-even point when the accumulated profit from the woman's work has paid off the total costs of recruitment and training but has as yet contributed nothing to profits. This is the point at which if the woman leaves, the employer neither gains nor loses. This point will vary with varying recruitment and training costs and with the profitability of each employee. In making this calculation:

HUSBAND'S INCOME (AFTER TAX)

	UNDER \$3,000	\$3,000 - \$4,999				\$5,000 AND OVER			
		ALL FAMILIES	ALL ADULT	WITH CHILDREN 6-17	WITH CHILDREN UNDER 6	ALL FAMILIES	ALL ADULT	WITH CHILDREN 6-17	WITH CHILDREN UNDER 6
Net Income	63.3%	60.9%	62.6%	64.3%	54.8%	58.8%	58.9%	60.4%	43.8%
Adjusted net Income	77.85%	77.05%	76.45%	77.05%	78.06%	73.75%	74.17%	74.4%	71.75%

let $P_1 = (p_1 + p_{1'})$ be the break-even point

P_1 = the training period in days (a datum)

$P_{1'}$ = recoupment period in days (to be determined)

B_{11} = the average initial cost of recruiting a female trainee

b_{11} = the firm's average costs per day per trainee

$b_{11'}$ = the average value per day to the firm of the trainee's output during this period, net of tax

$b_{12'}$ = the firm's average profit net of tax per day per employee during the recoupment period.

If on this assumption the net incomes in Table 19 are re-calculated the figures are as follows:

The break-even point for the firm is given by choosing $p_{1'}$ so that the total gain - treating costs as negative gains, equals

$$- B_{11} - p_1 (b_{11} - b_{11'}) + p_{1'} b_{12'} = 0$$

or

$$p_{1'} = \frac{B_{11} + p_1 (b_{11} - b_{11'})}{b_{12'}}$$

The position can be illustrated by figures supplied by a consumer goods firm in the United Kingdom with regard to semi-skilled female employees:

$$p_1 = 60 \text{ days}$$

$$B_{11} = 3.75$$

$$b_{11} = 4.25$$

$$b_{11'} = 0.45$$

$$b_{12'} = 0.75$$

$$\text{Therefore } p_{1'} = \frac{3.75 + 60 (4.25 - 0.45)}{0.75} = 309$$

$$\text{Therefore } P_1 = p_1 + p_{1'} = 60 + 309 = 369$$

Break-even point = 369 working days.

In sections of the retail trade and in the type of totally unskilled work in which the employee is productive after a few days training, often on-the-job, the formula demonstrates how little an employer has to lose even if the employee leaves after a month.

Let:

P_1 = break-even point

$p_{1'}$ = the recoupment period in days

B_{11} = the average initial cost of recruiting a female trainee = 5

b_{11} = the firm's average costs per day per trainee = 4

p_1 = the training period in days = 3

$b_{11'}$ = the average value per day to the firm of the trainee's services during the training period = 0.25

b_{12} = the firm's average profit net of tax per day per employee during recruitment period = 1

$$\text{Recoupment period } p_{1'} = \frac{B_{11} + p_1 (b_{11} - b_{11'})}{b_{12}}$$

$$\text{Therefore } p_{1'} = \frac{5 + 3 \times (4 - 0.25)}{1} = 5 + 11.25 = 16.25$$

$$\text{Therefore break-even point } P_1 = p_1 + p_{1'} = 3 + 16.25 = 19.25.$$

Obviously these calculations are largely based on approximations and are far from precise. In particular the figure of profit per employee is obtained by the crude device of dividing the final profit net of tax by the total number of employees. Despite these very severe limitations, however, the calculations highlight points of importance in any discussion of the cost benefit of re-entry women. From these examples it is clear that length of training and labour turnover rates are two highly significant variables. It is therefore crucial to this study that in country after country the higher the level of work the greater the stability of the women. Again and again, employers who had with some reluctance engaged older women were pleased and surprised by their unexpected stability. Detailed studies undertaken by other investigators tend to confirm these views.

3. Cost To The Government And Other Public Authorities

If, as in the case for example of the great majority of unskilled re-entry women in the United Kingdom, the firm pays recruitment and training costs and the woman persuades a relative or neighbour to look after her children the public authorities incur no cost whatsoever. The Exchequer stands however to gain from the tax the woman pays on her earnings, and from tax paid by the employer on the profit earned. The position alters however if the public authority provides the services, especially the child care service, which in all the countries many women seek. In the United Kingdom it is estimated* that day nurseries cost the authorities £ 5. 0. 0 per child per week. It is also argued, as this survey has emphasized, that to avoid waste of resources vocational guidance of an expert kind should be provided. The National Institute of Industrial Psychology, a non-profit making body in the United Kingdom, which has specialised for many years in vocational guidance, considers that an adequate job can be done for adults in rather less than one day, though in Sweden up to two days are devoted to one person. The National Institute of Industrial Psychology estimates the cost at £ 20 to £ 25 per day. The Department of Employment and Productivity, when hiring a consultant for this work pays £ 12. 12. 0** per half day, which is in line with this estimate. In some cases the Government also makes, or is urged to make, a contribution to maintenance and travel costs while the woman is in training.

It has in addition been emphasized in this study and elsewhere that many women are capable of tackling jobs of a far more demanding kind than those on which they were employed before marriage, and that the labour market situation will increasingly mean that there will be a need for longer and more expensive training to produce more highly qualified people.

Such schemes cost a lot of money. Taxpayers and Governments will ask what return on the outlay they are likely to get and why this provision should be given preference over the many other worthy proposals for public expenditure. A married woman, unlike everyone else in the labour market, is not dependent on a job. The rent and the grocery bill will be paid, though perhaps at a more modest rate, if she does not work. Married women tired of the sight of their own kitchen dream dreams of the happy life of the career woman. Without real financial pressures to keep her at it, however, will these dreams stand up to the daily journey to work, the frictions and strains of working life, the burden of carrying the dual responsibilities at home and at work,

* In 1961.

** In 1965.

and the sheer physical exhaustion this can involve? Sooner rather than later, it is argued, she will throw in her hand and all the costs of re-entry will be wasted.

On the other hand, the married woman who returns to work in her middle thirties has twenty-five years or even more possible working years ahead. In terms of taxed earnings this can mean a considerable contribution to the Exchequer, especially if she is working in a more skilled and better paid job. As with the individual employer, so with the public purse, the crucial factors are the subsequent length of employment and the earnings level of the woman. In attempting to find a formula to assess the position it is useful to separate costs to public funds spent on the re-entry process, including vocational and training costs, from those costs which might arise in response to the demands from some sections of the public to support the re-entry woman once she is back at work through the provision of day nurseries and through tax concessions to offset the additional expenses she incurs when she is working.

In calculating the cost benefit for the Government,

let: $P_2 = (p_2 + p_{2'})$ be break-even period

p_2 = the training period [assumed to be 60 days]

$p_{2'}$ = the recoupment period

B_{21} = the initial cost of vocational guidance [assumed to be £ 20.]

b_{21} = the contribution by Government to daily cost of training programme [assumed to be £ 1.]

b_{22} = the daily maintenance and travel grant contributed by Government [assumed £ 2.]

b_{23} = the daily child care cost provided by Government. [assumed £ 1.]

b_{24} = the daily tax receipts during training period [assumed £ 0.2]

$b_{21'}$ = the daily tax receipts after training from both woman and firm. [assumed £ 0.9.]

Let: $B_{21} + (b_{21} + b_{22} + b_{23}) p_2 - b_{24} p_2 + b_{21'} p_{2'} = 0$

$$\text{Therefore } p_{2'} = \frac{[B_{21} + (b_{21} + b_{22} + b_{23}) p_2 - b_{24} p_2]}{b_{21'}}$$

For a married woman with one child cared for in a day nursery while the mother is being trained it is also assumed that she is being paid while training at a rate which renders her liable for tax payment of £ 0.2 per day and that on completion of training she becomes liable for a tax payment of £ 0.4 per day. On completion of training her employer's profit from her employment is taxed at £ 0.5 per day. The daily tax receipt from both woman and firm is therefore £ 0.9. Assuming that after training there are no additional disbursements, the break-even point for the Government is then calculated as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Recoupment period } p_{2'} &= \frac{+ 20 + (1 + 2 + 1) 60 - (0.2 \times 60)}{0.9} \\ &= \frac{248}{0.9} = 275 \text{ working days} \end{aligned}$$

Therefore break-even point = 60 + 275 = 335 working days. If after training the Government continues disbursements at the rate of £ 1. per day for child care and tax rebate for personal expenditure of 0.2 per day then the calculation will be:

$$p_{2'} = + \frac{[20 + (2 + 1 + 1) 60 - 0.2 \times 60]}{0.9 - 1.2} = \frac{N}{- 0.3}$$

Therefore there is a continuing Government loss.

If, however, the training costs, including maintenance during training, are borne entirely by the firm, and if the only post-training cost to the Government is the day nursery payment, the break-even point for the Government will be reached when the combined tax payments by the woman and the employer are sufficient to pay off the day nursery costs. In this case this point cannot be reached since the daily combined tax of woman and employer is £ 0.9 and the day nursery is £ 1.

To the Woman Herself

Since the woman herself is involved in some expense before she gets employed, for her as well as for the employer and the Government, there is a recoupment period before her outlay is balanced by her earnings. In estimating the recoupment period for the woman in the example already quoted for the firm and for the Government let:

P_3 = the break-even period

p_3 = the training period

$p_{3'}$ = the recoupment period

B_{31} = the initial expense of finding a job

b_3 = estimate of "rent" (net gain) per day during training period,
net of tax

$b_{3'}$ = estimate of "rent" per day after training, net of tax.

Since b_3 is generally positive (i. e. it is a gain not a cost for the woman), if $b_3 p_3 < B_{31}$ (net earnings during training exceed initial expenses of securing the job) the post training rent $b_{3'}$ is irrelevant to the determination of the break-even period, which is now shorter than the training period.

Therefore recoupment period $p_{3'} = \frac{B_{31}}{b_{3'}}$

For example, in the case quoted:

$B_{31} = £ 2$

$b_3 = 1.5$ (gross pay of £ 2 less 1/4 costs = £ 1.5)

Therefore $p'_3 = \frac{2}{1.5} = 1.33$ days.

To Society as a Whole

So far the costs and benefits of re-entry have been examined from the particular point of view of the women themselves, their employers and the Government. The broader, and probably most important question, however, is the extent to which society as a whole benefits from the work of these women. The benefit to society is made up of the woman's "rent", plus the profit to the firm, plus tax accruing to the Government. What is the break-even point for society as a whole? How long do the women have to work before the total social gains balance the total social costs?

Since taxes have been netted out of benefits to the firm and to the woman the recoupment period for society as a whole can be calculated by aggregating the total costs and benefits (costs being negative benefits) of the woman, the firm and the Government.

To calculate the break-even period for society, i. e. for woman, firm and Government added together,

let: P = Society's break-even period

p = Training period

p' = recoupment period

Break-even period $P = p + p'$

where $p = 60$,

$$p' = \frac{(B_{11} + B_{21} + B_{31}) + p(b_{11} - b_{11'} + b_{21} + b_{22} + b_{23} - b_{24} - b_3)}{b_{12'} + b_{21'} + b_{3'}}$$

$$\text{Therefore } p' = \frac{(3.75 + 20 + 2) + 60(4.25 - 0.45 + 1 + 2 + 1 - 0.2 - 1.5)}{0.75 + 0.9 + 2}$$

$$= \frac{391.75}{3.65} = 107$$

$$\text{Therefore } P = 60 + 107 = 167 \text{ days.}$$

This calculation assumes there are no further payments by Government for day nursery or for additional tax relief. If, however, such additional payments are made at the rate of £ 1 for nursery and 0.2 for tax relief, the recoupment period will be:

$$p' = \frac{(3.75 + 20 + 2) + 60(4.25 - 0.45 + 1 + 2 + 1 - 0.2 - 1.5)}{3.65 - 1.2} = \frac{391.75 - 174}{2.25}$$

$$\text{Therefore } P = 60 + 174 = 234 \text{ days.}$$

Thus there is a break-even point for society after 234 working days even if the Government continues to pay day nursery costs and to give the woman additional tax rebates. In these circumstances both the employer and the woman gain provided that an indefinite subsidy of 1.2 per day per woman worker is paid by the Government.

V

CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS

This survey was undertaken to study the problems involved in the re-entry of women into employment, to examine the extent to which there exists a demand for employment for re-entry women, both from the women concerned and in the economies in which they live. On the assumption that such a demand would be found to exist, the aim was also to see what steps were being taken to facilitate the re-entry process, how effective these measures were proving, and what further developments might be suggested.

Re-entry: A Widespread and Growing Practice

In most of the countries studied there is a steady rise in the participation rates of older women. Women workers in the older age groups include some life-time workers, but a very high proportion of them are re-entry women. The position is not uniform. In the Netherlands, though there has been some increase in the number of re-entry women, the level of participation of women of all ages is still low in comparison with the other countries in the study. In Italy the participation rate has been falling, as the reduction in the number of women in agriculture has not been matched by a corresponding increase in industrial, commercial and service occupations. In Italy, also, unlike other countries studied, there is no second peak in the curve of women's participation by age, the mark of the growing practice of re-entry. In France, as in Italy, the rise in the employment of women in non-agricultural occupations has not matched the fall in the employment of women in agriculture. France however has a two-peak participation rate and the re-entry practice is growing.

With these reservations it can be said that the re-entry of the older married woman and the two-phase working life has become an increasingly popular pattern.

Low Level Opportunities and Rewards

There is therefore abundant evidence that a large and growing number of women are seeking re-entry in a wide range of income levels and in the more prosperous as well as in the less prosperous countries. Full-time jobs have on the whole been plentiful, but have been very largely confined to the traditional women's professions and to low level work in industry, commerce, retail trade and other services. The men's and women's labour markets have remained almost entirely separated, and with increasing numbers of women becoming available for a limited range of jobs it is not surprising that, in comparison with men, women's responsibilities and rewards have remained at a low level. The position in the United States, as described by Mrs. M.D. Keyserling*, vividly illustrates this point. Over the last twenty years the number of women in employment in the United States of America has increased and the women's participation rates, particularly in the older age groups, have risen dramatically. Though women have moved into better paid jobs they have done so more slowly than men. Compared with men, their level of employment has fallen and the gap between men's and women's earnings has widened. In the world's most technically advanced country this record conveys a message of great importance.

Demand for Opportunities for Part-time Work

The demand for part-time work appears in many cases to exceed supply. For many women re-entry depends on the availability of part-time employment and many countries stressed the need for more part-time openings. At present part-time work is normally seen by employers as a concession to be granted only where there is an acute shortage of labour. Women working under such terms are in consequence vulnerable to changes in the employment situation. Moreover, so long as it is normally only women who are employed on this basis it is an arrangement which emphasizes the contrasting employment situation of men and women and works against the elimination of sex discrimination in the labour market on which improved opportunities depend. It is interesting that a number of countries reported that women who returned to work part-time changed over to full-time when their circumstances permitted. As short shifts on a rota basis become more widespread, and as women's jobs become better paid, it is likely that the demand for part-time work will fall. The most useful immediate step is to intensify the search for jobs in which work on a part-time basis is mutually beneficial to both employer and employee, as is often the case in

* Keyserling, M.D., *Womanpower an under-utilized resource*, Training and Development Journal, vol. 22, No. 4 (April 1968).

the retail trade, and to guide women - and perhaps also men - into these openings.

Official Encouragement: A Special Women's Service?

Since older women want to work, and since the economies of the countries studied need skilled and trained personnel, the range and level of jobs open to women are doubly unsatisfactory. In these circumstances older women carry a heavy burden of responsibility at home and at work for a very meagre reward. The cost of working may absorb a half or more of the woman's takings. Many of the costs of employment are fixed, or would certainly not rise proportionately with rising earnings, and this low net return is largely the result of the very limited range of women's work.

The economies of their countries, as well as the women themselves, are also victims of this situation. The need to make better use of manpower is constantly stressed. Yet the position is tolerated, as in the United Kingdom, where about three-quarters of all women in employment are in jobs which take less than six months to learn. That can only mean that women in the top third of intelligence are employed in semi-skilled work.

The problems of the re-entry women are, of course, only one part of this wider womanpower issue. The female labour force is made up not only of re-entry women but of girls and young women working until the arrival of the first or second baby, and of the career women, single and married, who continue to work without a break from leaving school or college until they reach retiring age. But the change in sex ratios in the younger age groups, creating a surplus of men, combined with the rise in the school leaving age and the fall in the age of marriage means that the woman worker is becoming increasingly the older woman worker. The problem of the utilization of womanpower is becoming increasingly the problem of the utilization of the re-entry woman. With the early cessation of child-bearing - in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, for example, the average woman, it has been reckoned, has had her last child by the time she is 30 - the period away from work is becoming shorter. The re-entry woman who returns in her mid-thirties has a quarter of a century more of working life ahead of her.

Unsatisfactory as is the existing labour market position for re-entry women, much is nonetheless being done even within the existing framework. Official machinery for assisting re-entry women exists, at least nominally, in all the countries studied, since everywhere such women are free to make use of the established labour market machinery.

It has to be decided, however, whether special machinery needs to be created to deal with the particular problems of this group, and whether such machinery should take the form of a Women's Bureau.

The fact that the re-entry woman is by definition out of the labour market when seeking employment, and may have been out of it for many years, puts her in a position different in this respect from almost all other categories of labour. At the same time, from the employer's angle, there are many commonly held views about re-entry women which, as this study has shown, do not stand up to detailed examination. It seems unlikely that these special problems will be faced and overcome unless it is some officials' prime job to devote themselves for a period of time to these questions. But should officials be formed into a special women's section; should they, for that matter, themselves be women?

Unquestionably, in the United States the Women's Bureau is getting results. Yet the underlying demand of women is that, so far as jobs are concerned, they should be considered on their merits as persons, neither handicapped nor privileged by their sex. If this is what they want it is not easy to see why special provision specifically on a sex basis should be made to deal with a problem in which the central difficulty is the exaggerated attention attached to the worker's sex.

Any serious problem requires for a period of time the prime attention of specially designated people. Otherwise little happens. But once this special effort is achieving success and the main handicaps affecting a particular group have been removed, special organisation is no longer necessary. At present in all countries there is need for a great deal of work in giving information and services to women and employers. There is no essential reason why this work should be done by women rather than by men, though in practice it may prove easier to find women rather than men prepared to give the mental and administrative effort that effective re-entry programmes require. But where the necessary machinery is established, and traditional attitudes have clearly begun to shift, then, as is stressed in Sweden, the less these questions are seen as special women's problems, the more they are accepted as just another aspect of general labour market work, the better for all concerned.

Additional Provision Required

Special provision within the labour market machinery is clearly needed. From the experience of the countries studied it is also plain that there are a number of policies and practices which need to be developed. These issues have already been discussed and need here only be summarized. They include:

1. Vocational Guidance

It is clear that many women have been severely handicapped in their careers through lack of adequate vocational guidance early in school life when important choices are made, often in ignorance of their long-term consequences. Professional vocational guidance is needed both for young girls and for older women. In Sweden careful individual guidance for adults given by the employment service is supplemented where necessary by aptitude testing carried out on behalf of the public authority. Professional and official work is in a number of countries being supplemented by voluntary associations, schools, universities, women's organisations and the mass media. The potential re-entry woman is at home, and out of touch. The first problem is to reach her. Initial costs may be high, but not so high as the costs of losing useful women, or of allowing them to embark on unsuitable work for lack of guidance.

2. Correction of Defects in Basic Education

Where there are good openings many women are prevented from taking advantage of them through lack of basic educational qualifications. This problem is of course best handled in the schools which can ensure that girls have an education wide and deep enough to be able to adapt to changing job opportunities. Improved vocational guidance in the schools should lead to changes in this direction, but it is an area so far little explored from this point of view. Opportunities for adults to supplement inadequate basic education exist on a wide front, but sometimes need adjustment to be of practical value to married women. This is being done for example in some places in the United Kingdom where daytime classes are specially planned to fit a housewife's time table. The most obvious instrument for supplementation is educational television, and the New York University programme for providing a framework for television study and an examination system is a very useful precedent. Grants to assist women with their studies are a vital part of such a programme, but are often not available.

3. Training

Training programmes have already been discussed in some detail. It needs to be emphasised that success is being achieved in training older women, with examples of successful trainees up to and even beyond the age of 60. In view of the many previous studies which have stressed the difficulties in training older people this finding is perhaps of special interest. R. M. Bellin has shown that success in training older workers varies with the type of learning undertaking, and with training methods used. Many of the jobs mentioned in this survey in

which older women have achieved good results have depended on ability to comprehend and to develop good personal relationships rather than on the reflex type of learning. Middle management jobs in the retail trade and the chemical industry trainees are examples of such successes. This is a matter of the first importance for re-entry policies. Very tentatively the facts recorded in this study suggest a rather more optimistic view of re-training possibilities for older women than has been accepted in the past. It is essential at this stage to carry out detailed studies of training undertaken by these older women in order to predict likely success or failure far more accurately than is possible at present.

The problems and possibilities of training for re-entry women need to be seen in relation to the dramatic changes taking place in attitudes towards the training of men. The idea of a single training period prior to or in the first weeks or years of employment is being rejected in favour of the concept of continuous training and re-training.

In this framework the training required for re-entry can be seen as only one of the many training periods available for men and women throughout their working lives. The continuous training approach also underlines the importance of the development of measures to enable the period the woman spends at home to be used to good advantage. This can be done both by tapping the potential for training in the experiences of home and family and by the appropriate provision of training resources to be used while the woman is at home.

In addition to the need for further research and the changed approach to training certain practical points of importance emerge from this study.

A very long training course, though in some cases essential, can be a serious deterrent. The widespread evidence that re-entry women tend to choose short courses probably means continuing waste and suggests an area that needs very thorough investigation. Entry requirements for training courses which can delay the start of training need careful examination to see if a much wider system of equivalent qualifications can be worked out. Equally important is the possibility that courses may be shortened by accepting aspects of experience or training which, though in a different field, could nonetheless give exemption from certain parts of a training programme.

The practical aspects of training courses for older women need detailed attention, and the adjustment of hours of training to meet their needs can release a number of women for training who would otherwise be forced to remain at home. This and adequate grants to make the wife independent of her husband for all the expenses of training, are major practical conditions that must be met before a re-entry training scheme can really get off the ground.

Too little appears to be known of the special training methods appropriate to older people and the information in this field which already exists should be given a good deal more publicity. Emphasis is however frequently laid on the importance of a personal approach to the older trainee, with opportunities for fairly close personal contact between trainees and staff members able to build up the older woman's confidence.

Does It Pay?

This study has shown that re-entry programmes for older women can be a very satisfactory investment for both the community and the woman herself. They can also be a waste of money. Their economic success is a function of the value of the work the women perform, of the length and cost of training, of the rate of labour wastage, and the costs of substituting or foregoing the service: the woman would have been performing in the home and family if she were not in paid employment.

For economic success each of these factors needs to be carefully considered, and bad risks eliminated. The enterprises satisfied with their schemes stressed the importance of the careful selection of the women to be trained, and this need to be supplemented by more detailed information on the characteristics of both jobs and women to indicate the types of work for which re-entry programmes should be established or expanded.

The costs of services to support working wives create problems calling for policy decisions. It may be considered that where the value of the work performed by the women concerned does not economically justify the provision of such services, social arguments may be advanced for their provision and social welfare funds tapped for this purpose. Alternatively, it may be decided, especially if the introduction of equal pay raises the level of women's earnings, that the woman herself can be expected to meet an appropriate proportion of the cost.

The re-entry woman herself, at present levels of pay, often appears to be working for a very meagre net return when the costs of going out to work are deducted from her earnings. Many women no doubt need the money earned so much that they consider the effort worthwhile. In many cases, however, it seems likely that the apparent 'costs' of working - extra clothes, help with domestic chores - are seen as 'benefits', and it is this which makes the apparently low return acceptable.

Towards a Common Labour Market?

A useful start in such programmes has been made and interest in this whole question is undoubtedly increasing. But the effective use of

re-entry women is limited not so much by the failure to develop the services described on an adequate scale as by the limited nature of the labour market for women. This applies to all the countries studied, though in Sweden vigorous steps are taken, with so far only partial success, to change the nature of the women's labour market.

As was pointed out in the opening section of this report, the nature of the women's labour market will in any case change over the next decade as a result of the combined effects of technology and of the introduction of equal pay. Technology will undoubtedly erode the customary women's jobs in the semi-skilled and unskilled grades in industry, probably also in clerical work. Many new jobs will be coming into existence as the white collar sector expands, not only in the service field traditionally open to women but in the overwhelming by male technical field.

If women are to be confined to the customary women's labour market then in twenty years time, perhaps even in ten years, the outlook for re-entry women will be poorer not better than it is today and their countries will increasingly waste their womanpower. If, however, at this period of change it becomes possible to move away from separate labour markets for men and women and towards a single integrated labour market, then the prospects for re-entry women will be transformed.

How many employers in how many countries are prepared to ask the key question posed by managements in Sweden: "What jobs in this company can NOT be done by a woman?" - and the answer, it will be remembered, was "Very few". If this question is asked on a wide scale, and if increasingly, selection for jobs is based not on sex but on abilities and qualifications, then the opportunities for re-entry women could be very great indeed. With proper guidance, selection and training, there is little doubt that many re-entry women at present employed below capacity could be equipped to hold down more demanding, more interesting, more responsible and better paid work. To the criticism that such women will not continue in employment, and that money will therefore be wasted, it is not possible to give a categorical denial. But in the countries studied and in the work of other investigators, such as Dr. Viola Klein, it has been repeatedly found that employers who have engaged re-entry women have been agreeably surprised by their stability and length of service. The existing evidence suggests that the higher the level of training, of responsibility, and of pay, the less likely is the woman to leave her employment. Stability is affected by a number of variables, not only sex but also education, training, level of work, age and family circumstances. Viewed as prospective employees there is more difference between a highly qualified woman with a grown-up family and an unskilled woman with a large number of small children than there is between the same highly qualified woman and a comparably qualified man.

Women's future opportunities depend predominantly on the development of a common labour market for men and women. Whether any such common labour market will come into existence depends in turn on society's willingness to see it happen, and the willingness not only of men but also of women themselves. The problems of women's employment, and especially of married women's employment, are so complex and interesting just because they impinge on matters spreading far beyond the labour market and the technicalities and costs of training. Family life and the relations of men and women are affected by the roles of women at work, by the financial independence well paid work gives, by the confidence and authority that comes to a woman who is accepted in a responsible position. If there were really to be a common labour market with women trained and promoted in relation to their capacities, many people, women as well as men, fear that the male and female roles would be harmfully distorted and that family life would suffer. These are real fears. Unless they are faced, they will check women's advance in the world of work, for the values threatened are held with a strength which makes a long fight for their protection inevitable. The issues involved are beyond the scope of this survey, though the solution to the problems of re-entry probably depends far more on how these matters are tackled than on any other factor. What can be said with certainty is that the next decade is a decade of change in women's employment. Things will not stay as they are, and the problems will not fade quietly away. We can look at the change with all its social and psychological ramifications as the Swedes appear to be attempting to do and can deal with it as a whole. Or we can ignore the wider problems, only too late to be overtaken by them. Three facts can perhaps give us courage. Changes in family institutions and the relations of men and women are not new. The situation today would have seemed a nightmare or a vision to our grandfathers and grandmothers. In the field of employment it seems unlikely that change will come rapidly. Perhaps the greater danger is that it will not come rapidly enough. Women are not standing on the barricades clamouring for the training and the discipline and the toil that responsible work entails. As they come forward they will, it is true, intensify competition among men as well as women. It would be wise to guide them in their own interests as well as in the interests of their male competitors in the occupations that are expanding, not contracting. Competition for an increasing number of jobs is far easier to accept than competition in a dwindling market. Some men have some cause for fear, but few for panic.

And finally, this is a generation that puts high value on personal relationships, and, despite divorce rates, on the family. There has never been a time when so many men were so closely and intimately involved in the affairs of home and children. Work is important and may well become more important to women as well as to men, but this does not mean that men and women are incapable of preserving while at the same time transforming the relationships that matter to them most.

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